HERE'S WHAT THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS NEEDS TO DO!

The Nation

THE SADDAM SPECTACLE
Bruce Shapiro

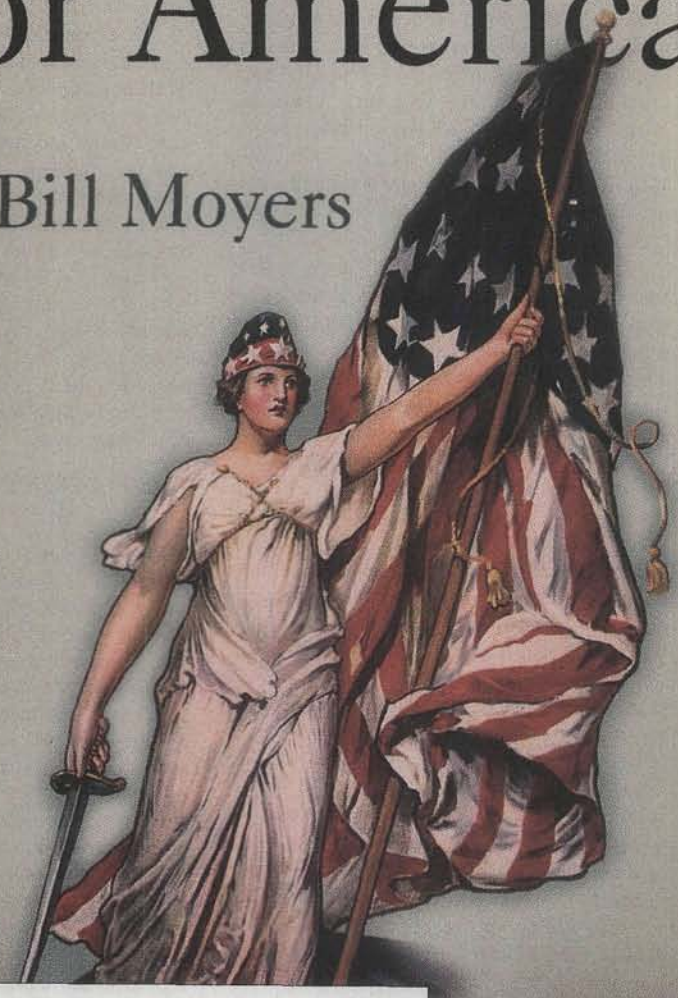
FORD, NIXON & *THE NATION*
Victor Navasky

DESTABILIZING THE HORN OF AFRICA
Salim Lone

RHYTHM AND BUSINESS
Jeff Chang

A New Story for America

by Bill Moyers



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EXCHANGE

Decca—Still Raising a Ruckus

Berkeley, Calif.

■ The wonderful thing about books of letters is that one can see the letter writers' views on the fly, at various stages of their lives. Letters written over decades are full of the contradictions, joys, griefs, high passions and the mundane moments of real human life as it progresses over the years. Unfortunately, reviewers can, if they choose, pick this or that passing comment from a letter written at some point during the subject's life, compare it with another quote from a letter written on another occasion for another purpose in another stage of life and build a case for any preconceived notion they wish. A collection of letters provides a sandbox for ideologues hunting for a logical consistency that no life possesses.

Charles Taylor has chosen to take that approach in reviewing *Decca: The Letters of Jessica Mitford* ["Class Consciousness," Dec. 11]. He created a portrait of a Jessica Mitford I don't recognize from the years I spent editing these letters. It's a portrait that won't be familiar, either, to readers or to the many reviewers on two continents who have greeted this book with almost universal acclaim. By selective quotation, misrepresentation and interpretive sleight of hand, Taylor sets up a series of straw men and, with great flourishes, sets them aflame. The approach may be entertaining for ideological pyromaniacs; however, it is not only misleading but—as when I find my own words distorted to fit a critic's preconceptions—personally insulting. Just a few of many possible examples:

"Mitford clings to the notion that the Communists were the only people fighting for civil rights." Taylor seems to have derived that baseless conclusion from a footnote relating to Mitford's musing, approvingly, about white students from the North going South to assist the civil rights movement. It's a misappropriation of a passing comment for the purpose of "exposing" a position that Mitford never held.

Taylor claims that I, too, asserted that position by "dismissing the efforts of both the NAACP and the ACLU" and "seconding... [Robert] Treuhaft's ridiculous implication that the NAACP didn't concern itself with poorer blacks" and "trivializing [the NAACP's] accomplishments as 'some notable successes' in overturning discriminating laws." Yes, I wrote that the NAACP had some notable successes in the courts, which is hardly a way of trivializing its accomplishments; no one said in the book I edited that "the NAACP didn't concern itself with poorer blacks." Nor can I find any comment I made in the book on the ACLU, of which I am a longtime, proud member and collaborator. On what page did you find my dismissal of the ACLU, Mr. Taylor?

"Are we to seriously believe," Taylor asks in his bewildering commentary, that "only the black middle-class was affected by" *Brown v. Board of Education*? No one in the book made any such ignorant assertion.

Taylor says that Mitford and Treuhaft's praise of the work of the East Bay Civil Rights Congress "deprives blacks of any agency on their own behalf." In fact, most of those in their chapter were blacks; and by the way, not all were Communists. The larger point was that the NAACP's primary focus in the 1940s and early '50s was on overturning discriminatory laws in the courts while the Treuhafts' local chapter was operating in poorer black districts "on a day-to-day basis in the streets," as Treuhaft put it, coming to the aid of individual victims of racism. Surely there is room for both approaches without impugning one's civil rights credentials.

Taylor wags an accusatory finger at a statement by Treuhaft: "When Decca makes up her mind, she *never* changes it." He says I found that admirable—on what evidence I can only guess since there is no such statement. In any case, that quote is laughably unrelated to Taylor's case that "Mitford clings to what history has proved nonsense." The quote comes from a letter the jubilant Treuhaft wrote his mother shortly after 26-year-old Jessica had consented to marry him! It has no bearing whatsoever on the rigidity of her Communist ideology in the '40s or '50s—which, incidentally, Mitford freely acknowledged: "Oh dear," she wrote in a letter eight years after she left the party, "we *were* so rigid!"

Taylor also characterizes me as writing "approvingly" of one reason Mitford gave for leaving the party. (Several other reasons are mentioned in her letters—including the party's doctrinaire inflexibility, which she tried to liberalize—but he chooses not to deal with that degree of nuance.) Won't someone explain to Taylor that quoting from or describing someone's views is not the same as approving of what she says?

Taylor can't even bring himself to enjoy the humor that, as every other critic has written, permeates Mitford's letters. He chooses to call it "forced heartiness." Saddest of all is that *The Nation*'s critic chose to force the irrepressible personality, the infectious humor, the social commitment and the sprightly intelligence of Jessica Mitford into his own dated ideological straitjacket.

PETER Y. SUSSMAN

Eastsound, Wash.

■ Charles Taylor seems a bit unfair to Jessica Mitford. From the time I got out of the WAVEs, in 1946, I was a pacifist/socialist, working with or belonging to the Progressive Party, Rosenberg-Sobell Committee, NAACP, CORE, SNCC, ACLU, National Lawyers Guild, Fellowship of Reconciliation (my favorite) and many more. Naturally, I have known many Communists.

In the Depression, the Communists were on the cutting edge of union organizing and civil rights. They did what others wouldn't and were beaten and lost jobs—a few even died. The NAACP brought the Emmett Till case to world attention, but later it faded away and left Till's mother to carry on. And the ACLU would not help defend the Rosenbergs.

My experience with Communists was that the leadership was usually stupid and arrogant. Of the rank and file: One woman used to sell the *People's World* in the Pike Place Market in Seattle. She would dress up, wear flowered hats and yell, "*People's World*! Buy the *People's World*! It isn't the people's world yet, but it will be!" I loved her! She died after being attacked trying to help a young girl in a housing project.

As for Mitford leaving the Communist Party because it became boring: It was. In the 1950s it was more cautious and concerned about its image, rather like the ACLU. Individual members were often brave and humble, and I am proud to be their fellow traveler on the road to peace and justice.

MARY GIBSON HATTEN

TAYLOR REPLIES

Brooklyn, NY

■ It does not bode well for an argument when it isn't out of the throat-clearing stage and the writer is already resorting to the "many people loved my work" claim. My review of *Decca* made it clear that I was not one of the "readers" or "the many reviewers on two continents"—count 'em—"who have greeted this book with almost universal acclaim." Peter Y. Sussman appears to want to defend Mitford against her own contention, quoted in my review, that "the whole point of letters is to reveal the writer & her various opinions & let the chips fall where they may." Sussman wants the chips to fall only where they will reveal Mitford in the best possible light.

The point of my piece was that in these letters as in her autobiography, Mitford showed remarkable consistency—certainly neither history nor facts swayed her unshakable beliefs. It may comfort Sussman to believe that my case against Mitford amounts to "selective quotation, misrepresentation and interpretive sleight

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EDITORIALS

The Democrats' First Test

On November 7, after twelve years out of power, the Democratic Party recaptured control of Congress and lit a candle of hope, promising serious opposition to George W. Bush's ruinous presidency. A month later, the Baker-Hamilton group issued a plan for exiting Iraq that, though a waffling disappointment, offered Bush a helping hand out of his quagmire. Stubbornly in character, the President remains oblivious to both, even as American deaths in Iraq climb above 3,000. Instead of experiencing hope, we are once again witnessing a familiar stalemate between the bloody reality in Iraq and Bush's resistance to the truth about his failed warmaking.

According to news reports, the great debate in Crawford, Texas, over Bush's "new" strategy is pathetically narrow—evidently confined to how hard the United States should punch back at the chaos and killing in Baghdad. A small "surge" in troops or a big one? A short "surge" or a long one? US forces have tried similar tactics for three years without success. The disgusting import is that more Americans and many more Iraqis will die because Bush refuses to accept what the rest of the world understands: There is no "victory" ahead for America, only deepening shame.

The Democrats' first days in power, therefore, are framed by two basic questions. How aggressively do they intend to use their new legislative powers to push Bush to end this bloody, costly mistake? And will they cast aside their obsession with balanced budgets in order to launch substantial public investments that can fulfill America's promise? The two questions are connected by the matter of money. The United States can't afford to conduct war and serious domestic economic reconstruction at the same time. Democrats, likewise, cannot adhere to hair-shirt Clinton-era economics, cutting away at programs and evading society's deterioration while pretending to have a significant new governing agenda. It is not yet clear how the Democratic leadership will answer these questions. Some early signs are disturbing.

One came when Bush casually allowed that US Army troop strength should be permanently expanded by 40,000 to 90,000—not more troops for Iraq but more troops to fight the next war. Many Democrats nodded approvingly. So did the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. Forget the facts. Nobody in elite political circles wants to sound "soft" on defense. In other words, Iraq is a disaster, but let's give the Pentagon another $80 billion to beef up for the next one. Whatever they tell themselves in Washington, this isn't "smart politics." Military invasions and occupations are weak and counterproductive responses to international terrorism. We need better intelligence and a foreign policy that emphasizes cooperation with our allies.

The Democrats are perhaps stepping into another Rovian trap—blithely agreeing to a larger military force without considering that this could stymie any serious agenda for new spending on healthcare, education, renewable energy or industrial redevelopment. The Democrats have already handcuffed themselves by committing us to pay-as-you-go budgeting to eliminate federal deficits. If the Democrats shrink the federal budget, they may just be blamed for making things worse.

Democrats must throw off the fiscal handcuffs—fast—and develop a concrete, smart program for investing in what the public wants and needs. That would give them a stronger identity, contrasting Democrats with slash-and-burn Republicans. As Bill Moyers writes in this issue, "We are at an extraordinary moment. The conservative movement stands intellectually and morally bankrupt while Democrats talk about a 'new direction' without convincing us they know the difference between a weather vane and a compass." It's time to find that compass and define a new foreign and domestic agenda.

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COMMENT

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The Saddam Spectacle

If Iraqi executioners have a particular expertise with the gallows, it is because Saddam gave his country so much practice. Hanging, shooting, gassing, beating, Saddam and his Baathist state made a cult of them all. Depraved and sadistic, Saddam's was the polar opposite of the banal bureaucratic evil Hannah Arendt famously saw in Adolf Eichmann.

That is precisely why the show trial and videotaped hanging that ended the dictator's life, far from elevating the rule of law, were so dangerously in tune with all else askew in US-occupied Iraq. Iraq's impatient politicians and their US handlers wanted the legitimacy conferred by a Saddam trial but the assurance of Saddam's certain, fast demise. In the United States, feckless governors get to look tough by signing death warrants. In Iraq, Saddam's hasty execution was a chance for Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki to appear decisive—after a year in which he conceded his country's governance to death squads and militias. Saddam's hanging permitted George W. Bush to make a show of going to bed undisturbed, while Iraq's ongoing catastrophe, with Saddam three years gone from the scene, has Bush's own generals and party leaders in revolt.

Iraq's leaders, it is clear, made efforts to cover up the embarrassing truth. Official video released within hours had no soundtrack and showed only the masked executioners arranging the noose on the dictator's neck; officials promoted grossly sanitized accounts of the final moments. The Shiite executioners' taunts, Saddam's ripostes, the toothless cries for dignity from a lone witness—all became evident only in a cellphone video that, however grotesque, at least portrayed the entire judicial exercise for the lynch party it was.

It could have been different. The idea that despots can be held legally accountable for war crimes, genocide and violations of human rights is one of the few genuine political innovations of the past sixty years. Nuremberg was the wellspring; in South Africa it was a Truth and Reconciliation Commission; in the Balkans and Rwanda, the UN tribunal. For Chile, it took Spain's victim-rights laws to pry open the books on Augusto Pinochet, commencing an accounting that continued until Pinochet's recent death from natural causes. The International Criminal Court (from which the United States still, scandalously, withholds its signature) is already at work on Darfur. Whatever the form, there is plenty of evidence that establishing the facts of atrocity and accurately laying out lines of accountability aid in democratic transition, help dampen cycles of generalized revenge and can bring some relief to traumatized survivors.

But Saddam's trial and execution were built for speed—not truth, reconciliation or accountability. The Iraqi occupation court's decision to prosecute him and execute him for the killings of 148 Shiites from the town of Dujail in the 1980s—not for his manifold atrocities in the Iran-Iraq war or the gassing of the Kurds—may have appeared a sensible legal expedient. But it had a distinct political effect: preventing Saddam's trial from also becoming a trial of decades of US policy. Banished from the Iraqi courtroom was any reminder of the Reagan Administration's

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COMMENT

realpolitik encouragement of Saddam during his war with Iran, the most brutal era of his regime. Gone was any inadvertent mention of how Margaret Thatcher's Britain supplied Saddam the poison gas he used against the Kurds, or any hint of the Presidents from Gerald Ford forward who inflamed and then sold out Kurdish aspirations.

If Washington and Baghdad were seriously interested in de-Saddamizing Iraq, after the Dujail trial they would have insisted that the dictator be confronted in the courtroom with his wider atrocities—the subject of years of labor by human-rights forensic investigators. That would have been the Nuremberg way. That would have given Saddam's living victims a voice and honored the stories of the dead. It would also have revealed the robust debate about capital punishment among Iraq's current leaders, especially among Europe-identified Kurds: President Jalal Talabani, Deputy Prime Minister Barham Salih and a host of lesser officials see Iraq's gallows as relics of the Baathist era.

But that's not what happened. Instead there was a spectacle of sectarian vengeance that delivered neither legal justice nor narrative justice, neither the example of a fair and transparent proceeding nor the satisfaction of a historical accounting. The result: a necktie party driven by two leaders, Maliki and Bush, each desperate to persuade himself that they still hold sway over imploding Iraq.

Six American soldiers and at least seventy-five Iraqi civilians died in roadside bombings on December 30. It was, in other words, a routine morning in US-occupied Baghdad. The fact that Saddam Hussein dropped from the gallows at dawn changed nothing.

BRUCE SHAPIRO

Bruce Shapiro, a Nation *contributing editor, is executive director of the Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma (www.dartcenter.org).*

Ford, Nixon, The Nation

The consensus seems to be that Gerald Ford, who died December 26, at 93, was a healer. And his pardon of Richard Nixon, although controversial at the time, is now cited as perhaps his most significant achievement. History, it has been said, has been kinder to him than the voters who turned him out of office. Not so fast.

Ford was indeed a nice guy, although he did—before he was named to replace the disgraced Spiro Agnew as Vice President—call for the impeachment of liberal Justice William O. Douglas, ostensibly because Douglas had contributed an article to *The Evergreen Review*, an avant-garde publication too racy for the Congressman's taste. But missing from the otherwise near-universal encomiums for his helping to put what he called "our long national nightmare" behind us is any serious questioning of his own version of the story behind that pardon, which in the long run may have more to do with his historical reputation than the fact of the pardon itself.

We should know, if for no other reason than that in 1979 Ford's publisher, Harper & Row, sued *The Nation* over a story we published concerning that pardon. Technically, the suit had to do with the fair-use doctrine: Had *The Nation*, which had been leaked an advance copy of the manuscript of Ford's memoir, quoted more of Ford's words than the fair-use doctrine permits? The Supreme Court, overturning an appeals court decision, said we had. In fact, we had only quoted a few hundred words from Ford's 110,000-word book. But the Court, voting 6 to 3 against us, didn't buy our position that public figures, who have every right to profit from their memoirs, have no right to copyright the news. So be it.

According to Ford, on August 1, 1974, a week before Nixon resigned, White House Chief of Staff Al Haig took Ford for a walk in the Rose Garden and told him that the "smoking gun" tapes establishing Nixon's complicity in the Watergate cover-up had been found and that they had to get the President out of there. If Ford promised to pardon Nixon, Haig thought, he would agree to resign. Ford said he then asked Haig if it was possible to pardon a person before he had been indicted. Haig said yes, adding that White House counsel had checked out this detail.

The way Ford wrote it, the conversation was all very innocent. He didn't even tell his wife, Betty, about it. But the next morning when he mentioned the conversation to an aide and the aide asked, And then what did you say? and Ford said, Nothing, the aide said that in that context, mention of a pardon could be "a time bomb." And when Ford told a second aide, the aide said, "Silence implies assent." Ford says he then called Haig and read him a statement (which he reproduced in the book and which we reproduced in our article), the point of which was that nothing that was or wasn't said in the previous day's conversation would have any bearing on whatever Ford would or wouldn't decide.

Writing for the Court, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor assumed that because *The Nation* "attempted no independent...research" the news we hoped to make with our story was the same news that Ford hoped to make with his book, and that being the case we should have bid for publication rights, along with *Time* magazine (which won them and then canceled its plans after the news came out). Of course, from *The Nation*'s perspective, the point we hoped to make was the opposite of Ford's. By removing his gloss of innocence but presenting the facts as he had presented them, we

CALVIN TRILLIN

ANOTHER NEW POLICY FOR IRAQ

The pundits say it may emerge
That Bush has really got the urge
To take what troops we have and splurge
By using them for one last surge,
Continuing this dreadful scourge.
The music he can't hear's a dirge.

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raised the possibility that his call to Haig was strictly for cover.

Forget about fair use (subsequent legislation and litigation brought the law of fair use back to where it had been before the *Nation* case): If *The Nation* was right in its interpretation of what Ford and Haig had cooked up, healing or no healing, the behind-the-scenes deal that took place was nothing less than obstruction of justice.

Ford, who also presided over the withdrawal of our troops from Vietnam, may now be justly celebrated as a healer. Let future historians decide whether he was also a justice obstructor.

VICTOR NAVASKY

Destabilizing the Horn

The stability that emerged in southern Somalia after sixteen years of utter lawlessness is gone, the defeat of the ruling Islamic Courts Union now ushering in looting, martial law and the prospect of another major anti-Western insurgency. Clan warlords, who terrorized Somalia until they were driven out by the Islamists, and who were put back in power by the US-backed and -trained Ethiopian army, have begun carving up the country once again.

With these developments, the Bush Administration, undeterred by the horrors and setbacks in Iraq, Afghanistan and Lebanon, has opened another battlefront in this volatile quarter of the Muslim world. As with Iraq, it casts this illegal war as a way to curtail terrorism, but its real goal appears to be to obtain a direct foothold in a highly strategic area of the world through a client regime. The results could destabilize the whole region.

The Horn of Africa, at whose core Somalia lies, is newly oil-rich. It is also just miles across the Red Sea from Saudi Arabia and Yemen, overlooking the daily passage of large numbers of oil tankers and warships through that waterway. The United States has a huge military base in neighboring Djibouti that is being enlarged substantially and will become the headquarters of a new US military command being created specifically for Africa. As evidence of the area's importance, Gen. John Abizaid, the military commander of the region, visited Ethiopia recently to discuss Somalia, while Chinese President Hu Jintao visited Horn countries a few months ago in search of oil and trade agreements.

The current series of events began with the rise of the Islamic Courts more than a year ago. The Islamists avoided large-scale violence in defeating the warlords, who had held sway in Somalia ever since they drove out UN peacekeepers by killing eighteen American soldiers in 1993, by rallying people to their side through establishing law and order. Washington was wary, fearing their possible support for terrorists. While they have denied any such intentions, some Islamists do have terrorist ties, but these have been vastly overstated in the West.

Washington, however, chose to view the situation only through the prism of its "war on terror." The Bush Administration supported the warlords—in violation of a UN arms embargo it helped impose on Somalia many years ago—indirectly funneling them arms and suitcases filled with dollars.

Many of these warlords were part of the Western-supported transitional "government" that had been organized in Kenya in 2004. But the "government" was so devoid of internal support that even after two years it was unable to move beyond the small western town of Baidoa, where it had settled. In the end, it was forced to turn to Somalia's archenemy Ethiopia for assistance in holding on even to Baidoa. Again in violation of the UN arms embargo, Ethiopia sent 15,000 troops to Somalia. Their arrival eroded whatever domestic credibility the government might have had.

The United States, whose troops have been sighted by Kenyan journalists in the region bordering Somalia, next turned to the UN Security Council. In another craven act resembling its post-facto legalization of the US occupation of Iraq, the Council bowed to US pressure and authorized a regional peacekeeping force to enter Somalia to protect the government and "restore peace and stability." This despite the fact that the UN has no right under its charter to intervene on behalf of one of the parties struggling for political supremacy, and that peace and stability had already been restored by the Islamists.

The war came soon after the UN resolution, its outcome a foregone conclusion thanks to the highly trained and war-seasoned Ethiopian army. The African Union called for the Ethiopians to end the invasion, but the UN Security Council made no such call. Ban Ki-moon, the incoming Secretary General, is being urged to treat the enormously complex situation in Darfur as his political challenge, but Somalia, while less complex, is more immediate. He has an opportunity to establish his credentials as an unbiased upholder of the UN Charter by seeking Ethiopia's withdrawal.

The Ethiopian military presence in Somalia is inflammatory and will destabilize this region and threaten Kenya, a US ally and the only island of stability in this corner of Africa. Ethiopia is at even greater risk, as a dictatorship with little popular support and beset by two large internal revolts by Ogadenis and Oromos. It is also mired in a military stalemate with Eritrea, which has denied it secure access to seaports. It now seeks such access in Somalia.

The best antidote to terrorism in Somalia is stability. Instead of engaging with the Islamists to secure peace, the United States has plunged a poor country into greater misery in its misguided determination to dominate the world.

SALIM LONE

Salim Lone, a Kenyan whose last assignment in his UN career was as spokesman for the UN mission in Iraq immediately after the 2003 war, is a columnist for the Daily Nation *in Nairobi.*

ON THE WEB: Katrina vanden Heuvel writes in praise of slowness—from the Slow Food movement to the benefits of slowing down our political culture. Robert Dreyfuss explores the consequences of rushing Saddam Hussein to the gallows: inflamed Sunni insurgents, emboldened Shiite jihadists and reduced options for political reconciliation. Christopher Hayes reminds Democrats that real special-interest reforms must include dealing with earmarks masquerading as targeted tax breaks.

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COMMENT

Johnny Populist

The hair was still TV-anchor perfect, the blue-eyed squint as dreamy as ever. But the famously gaudy grin was largely absent on December 27 when John Edwards booted up his second run for President from the backyard of Orelia Tyler's flood-wrecked home in New Orleans's Ninth Ward. With no notes, no teleprompter and a microphone that kept threatening to fritz out, Edwards stood starkly alone, framed from most camera angles by only a bare tree and a corpse-gray midwinter sky, talking in spare and straightforward terms about a massive national recommitment to fighting poverty and reviving the middle class. We need to get our hands dirty, said Edwards, who'd helped clean up Tyler's yard the day before.

The symbolism was unmissable. In 2004 Edwards's wing-and-a-prayer candidacy was propelled by much the same "happy populism" that won Bill Clinton the White House in 1992. The one-term senator from North Carolina constantly invoked his inspiring rise from humble roots as a mill worker's son and offered a compelling diagnosis of the "Two Americas" created by economic inequities. But his prescriptions for solving the problem were as threadbare as his foreign-policy expertise. After an often bitter experience as John Kerry's running mate in 2004, Edwards came away disgusted by the safe, poll-tested politics he had once embraced. "In our effort to be elected," he told me in 2005, "we've become minimalists, tinkering around the edges—our tax cut is better than yours, we'll have smaller class sizes. That's not what the country wants. There's a hunger to be about a big moral cause—a moral cause that's bigger than our own self-interest."

In New Orleans, Edwards sketched out a purpose-driven politics aimed at combating economic injustices and human atrocities both at home and abroad in places like Uganda and Sudan. "We need to ask Americans to be...patriotic about something beyond war," he said. With considerable input from his campaign chief, powerful former Congressman David Bonior of Michigan, Edwards is rolling out an ambitious plan for universal health insurance while calling for a new spin on Lyndon Johnson's "War on Poverty," creating a million federally funded jobs with nonprofit or government agencies and making the first year of college free for kids from poor families. Unblinking about his "mistake" of voting to authorize the Iraq War, Edwards calls for the immediate withdrawal of 40,000 to 50,000 troops and a major reorientation of foreign policy. "You can't lead through raw power," he said. The world needs "to see our better angels again."

Edwards's harder-edged populism could be ideally attuned to the political moment. It's certainly a message well suited to the insurgent's campaign Edwards must wage against the Hillary Clinton cash machine and Barack Obama's big-media bandwagon. Barnstorming with labor groups for minimum-wage initiatives last year, Edwards poured the foundation for an old-fashioned ground war—something that Bonior, a longtime champion of middle-class and labor interests, is famous for. And with his aggressive and innovative online campaign, Edwards aims to be Dean 2.0, the next generation of netroots politicking.

Even in 2004 Edwards showed a certain fearlessness about delivering bad news. "Two Americas," after all, ain't exactly an upper. With fewer catchphrases and more frank talk this time, Edwards hopes to catch the fancy of voters looking for a sea change from the surreal Bush years. The country needs blue skies, it's true, but the more pressing need is for a President capable of doing what Gerald Ford did in 1975, when he lumbered into his first State of the Union address and grimly, bracingly declared, "The state of the union is not good." BOB MOSER

Bob Moser is a Nation *contributing writer.*

A Democratic Anomaly

Since the Constitution was changed in 1913 to require the election of senators, a convenient interpretation of the language of the amendment has allowed governors over the years to appoint 188 men and women to the chamber. This undemocratic anomaly has generally gone unnoted, since gubernatorial appointments have rarely threatened to shift more than one state's seat in the Senate at any particular time. But with the incoming Senate narrowly divided between fifty-one Democrats and forty-nine Republicans, the sudden illness in mid-December of South Dakota Senator Tim Johnson, a Democrat who required emergency brain surgery, focused attention on the fact that one person—in this case, South Dakota's extremely conservative and partisan Republican governor, Mike Rounds—could make an appointment that would tip the balance of the Senate.

Such a circumstance could never occur in the House, where the Constitution unambiguously requires that open seats be filled by the voters.

Gubernatorial appointees do not always hold on to the Senate seats they are handed, but they go into the next regularly scheduled election with the advantage of incumbency. That means that the practical power of individual governors to influence the long-term makeup of the Senate is often much greater than that of voters.

This is not the way a healthy democracy operates. Two states, Oregon and Alaska, have in recent years changed their laws to join Wisconsin in requiring that open Senate seats be filled by voters in a special election. (Wisconsin, where the Progressives led the fight for direct election of senators, had since the early years of the last century been pioneers in requiring that the choice be that of the voters.) Several other states permit special elections to be called in certain circumstances, but in the vast majority of states it's the governor's prerogative. In the absence of a clarification of the Constitution to make it the law of the land that all senators must be elected, state-based activists who seek to reform our political processes from the ground up would be wise to add another demand to their list of steps to address this country's democracy deficit: No one should sit in the Senate by appointment. Before they take their seats, all senators should first have to face the voters. JOHN NICHOLS

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ALEXANDER COCKBURN

Greater Than Warren Harding?

These days a hefty slab of the teenagers alive in America will supposedly live to be 100 (presumably working till they drop to pay for the rest, jobless and dying from diabetes). Given the reproductive shadow hanging over America—poor semen quality, cryptorchidism, impaired fecundity—they won't have that many children, although the sparse litters will contain people likely to live to be 125, handing down horrible recipes for turkey giblet gravy to the next generation. In short, there'll be a lot of centenarians about, and the name Gerald Ford will mean absolutely nothing to any of them. You had to have been born in 1960 to have been 14 in 1974, hence even vaguely conscious of the genial interregnum between Nixon and Carter, over which Ford presided.

Ah, the 1970s! More precisely, the mid-1970s, an interval—from Nixon's resignation on August 9, 1974, to January 23, 1977, when Jimmy Carter installed Zbigniew Brzezinski as his National Security Adviser—when people thought America might head down a different path.

A Maryland-based former weapons designer with a nose for conspiracy suggested to me the day after New Year's that Karl Rove masterminded the hoopla over Ford's passing—the postal holiday, the solemn elegies—all as a way of associating the beleaguered presidency of G.W. Bush with the supposedly popular Ford. If so, chalk it up as another clunker from Karl, whose magic touch has brought his employer's popularity ratings close to the lowest in the history of the Republic.

Early in the proceedings, so the wire services reported, only twenty people were mustered at Capitol Hill to view Ford's casket in the Rotunda. George Bush excused himself, staying home in Crawford, Texas, presumably watching reruns of Saddam's execution. Almost 500 of the 535 members of Congress had prior commitments. They had to scramble to find enough pallbearers after Donald Rumsfeld missed his plane. Even Justice John Paul Stevens, whom Ford installed on the Supreme Court and who has long been its most liberal member, did not feel impelled to show up, though he and Bush did attend the funeral at the National Cathedral on Tuesday.

Few speak well of Ford. The neocons think he was weak. The libertarians regard him as a statist. The liberals and the left can't get over his pardon of Nixon. Enthusiasts for the man from Grand Rapids seem pretty much confined to Dick Cheney and me.

On the grounds that he didn't have the time and maybe not even the inclination to do too much harm, I've always regarded Ford as America's greatest twentieth-century President, with the possible exception of Warren Harding, a very fine man. Ford reached the White House without vote fraud. He presided over a Keynesian binge. On his benign watch the pork barrel did its noble duty. Nonmilitary appropriations rose by 7.2 percent, in contrast to Nixon's 4.3, Carter's 2.2, Reagan's 1.3. On his watch, with funding cut off by Congress, the United States quit Vietnam. The arts flourished.

Ford belonged to the age of détente. The neoliberal age and the Second Cold War really began with Carter. Had Ford beaten back Carter's challenge in 1976, the neocon crusades of the mid- to late 1970s would have been blunted by the mere fact of a Republican occupying the White House. Reagan, most likely, would have returned permanently to his slumbers in California after his abortive challenge to Ford for the nomination in Kansas in 1976.

His most heinous act? The OK to Indonesia to invade East Timor, which produced extensive slaughter. Ford and Kissinger were in Jakarta on December 6, 1975, and Ford told General Suharto, "We will understand and will not press you on the issue. We understand the problem you have and the intentions you have." This was what Kissinger had told him to say in an advisory memo a few weeks earlier. Ford probably thought East Timor was a putting green. Anyway, what does it take to be America's greatest President, if it comes down to the height of the mountain of corpses you leave behind? The bar isn't that high.

Times Seeks Longer War

The *New York Times*'s ghastly coverage of Iraq continues without remit. It helped launch the war. Now it's trying to keep it going.

On New Year's Day the *Times* ran a piece by John Burns and Marc Santora clearly dictated by US officials in Baghdad trying to recoup from the PR disaster of Saddam's hanging. It was a comical essay in Pilate-like handwashing, filled with self-serving accounts of how the Americans had vainly counseled the Maliki puppet regime to observe a more dignified schedule, in accordance with legal proprieties. Of course, the United States controlled the trial and outcome from start to finish, even postponing announcement of the guilty verdict to November 7, right before election day. The rush to execution was intended to produce headlines overshadowing the 3,000th American death of the war.

I discussed here three weeks ago the strenuous efforts of the *Times*'s military correspondent Michael Gordon to promote a hike in US forces in Iraq. A long piece on January 2, under the byline of Gordon, John Burns and David Sanger, made all clear. The piece was a prolonged attack on Gen. George Casey, top military commander in Baghdad, depicted in harsh terms as espousing a defeatist plan of orderly withdrawal. Finding favor in the reporters' eyes was the military/policy-making faction urging the surge ceaselessly promoted by their pliant tool, Gordon, and now being contemplated by Bush, urged on by Israel's top senator, Joe Lieberman, in the hawk's roost, otherwise known as the *Washington Post*. It also featured Robert Novak's column declaring that Bush and Senator John McCain will have trouble finding support from more than twelve of the forty-nine GOP senators when pressing for a surge of up to 30,000 troops. The *Times* is now calling editorially for a larger army. Can a call for the draft be far behind? ■

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KATHA POLLITT

Happy New Year!

It's only January 2 as I write, and I've already broken my New Year's resolutions. (Exercise! Keep diary! Be better person! [Start column earlier!—*Ed.*]) You'd think I'd learn—these are the same self-improvement projects I swore fealty to last year, and the year before (and before), with the same results. But enough about me and my slothful ways—how about some resolutions for liberals? For example:

1. Think bigger. For decades, we've been chasing the rightward-drifting center—*aka* the "middle class"—by throwing huge chunks of our agenda overboard like ballast from a leaky ship. Now the Democrats are, however shakily, back in power, and their program is so modest you need a microscope to see it. Raise the federal minimum wage in stages to $7.25—all the way back to its 1979 levels. Restore (some) taxes on the superrich. Fund cheaper student loans. Let Americans import prescription drugs from foreign countries. There's something so pathetic about that last item: The drug companies have us cornered, but maybe you can escape! How about: Raise the minimum wage to $9 an hour and index it to inflation so it won't decline in value again. Single-payer healthcare for all. Quality childcare for all. Decent affordable housing—an issue that's dropped off the radar screen even as housing costs have skyrocketed. Free or nominal tuition in public universities—sounds like utopian madness until you realize that public higher education actually was free, or cheap, until the 1980s. To complaints that these things cost too much, George W. Bush has provided a simple reply: If the government can pay for the war in Iraq—$355 billion and counting—it can pay for anything.

2. Stop giving the right credit for our ideas. It's nice that David Kuo, the evangelical Christian who served in the White House office of faith-based initiatives, wrote a book describing the Bush Administration's lack of commitment to so-called compassionate conservatism. But honestly, the man is a nudnik (see Alan Wolfe's devastating review in *The New Republic*). The handwriting was on the wall about faith-based funding from the moment it was devised. It was never anything but a flatly unconstitutional bribe to Christian conservatives, and many, many secularists—from People for the American Way and the Freedom From Religion Foundation down to, yes, me, right here—pointed this out. Why not credit the ones who were right all along? And PS: If the pastors and priests didn't get all the money they wanted for their evangelical prisons and fetal-protection programs, good! Similarly, why heap praise on antiwar reactionaries like Chuck Hagel or right-wing hacks with a soft spot for the ACLU like Bob Barr or antichoicers who draw the line at banning stem-cell research like John Danforth? Every time we give them the spotlight, we are reinforcing a portrait of the political stage in which right-wingers are the only players.

3. Stop looking for a savior. If we create a strong movement, leaders will arise. Probably too many! When a movement is weak, what you get is men—and I do mean men—on white horses, people with thin records of accomplishment upon whom wild hopes of rescue are projected. In 2004 it was Wesley Clark—supposedly electable because he was a general. This year, it's Barack Obama, with John Edwards coming up the inside. My point is not that both men are lightweight, inexperienced and less progressive than advertised. It's that, whatever their merits, if you want the next Democrat in the White House to feel beholden to you, don't act like a groupie two years in advance. Concentrate on building a movement he'll need to court—and satisfy.

4. Don't think your lifestyle can save the world. I love slow food! I cook slow food! I shop at farmers' markets, I pay extra for organic, I am always buying cloth bags and forgetting to bring them to the supermarket. But the world will never be saved by highly educated, privileged people making different upscale consumer choices. If you have enough money to buy grass-fed beef or tofu prepared by Tibetan virgins, you have enough money to give more of it away to people who really need it and groups that can make real social change.

5. Avoid weasel words. Like "spirituality." It's "religion." And "faith"—that's "religion" too. And while you're at it, define your terms. What is a "working family"? What is "the middle class"? Do these phrases mean anything more than "virtuous people entitled to make a moral claim on society"—as opposed to those criminals, drug addicts and welfare moms liberals used to care about? And speaking of liberals, whatever happened to them? And to leftists? How come we're all "progressives" now?

6. Avoid conscience-salving gimmicks. Wouldn't it be neat if you could cancel out the noxious clouds of CO_2 emitted by your SUV by paying the eco-capitalists at Terrapass $80 to plant trees or turn cow farts into electricity? And what if you could provide clean water to the Third World by buying Ethos, a pricey bottled water from Starbucks? Forget it. There is no way your SUV does only $80 worth of environmental damage a year—to say nothing of wasting all that gas, taking up all that parking space and showing the whole world what a ridiculous person you are. If you really care about carbon emissions, get a Prius. Better yet, join a green group and fight the car culture. Similarly, if you want to help the Third World, get a thermos and fill it from the tap—send the hundreds of dollars you save annually not buying Ethos to UNFPA, the UN Population Fund. You'll help more people, and the Earth will thank you for not loading it up with plastic garbage.

7. Be honest. Withdrawing from Iraq may be the right thing to do, but it won't mean peace, at least not for the Iraqis.

8. Stop treating race and gender and sexual orientation as annoying distractions from the big manly task of uniting America behind class politics. Like it or not, women, gays and people of color make up something like 80 percent of the population. Get used to it! Discrimination—whether it's racial resegregation or denial of reproductive healthcare or antigay legislation—is not some touchy-feely issue of "identity politics." It's a central feature of the social injustice we all claim to be fighting.

9. Have some fun. Party like it's 2007! ■

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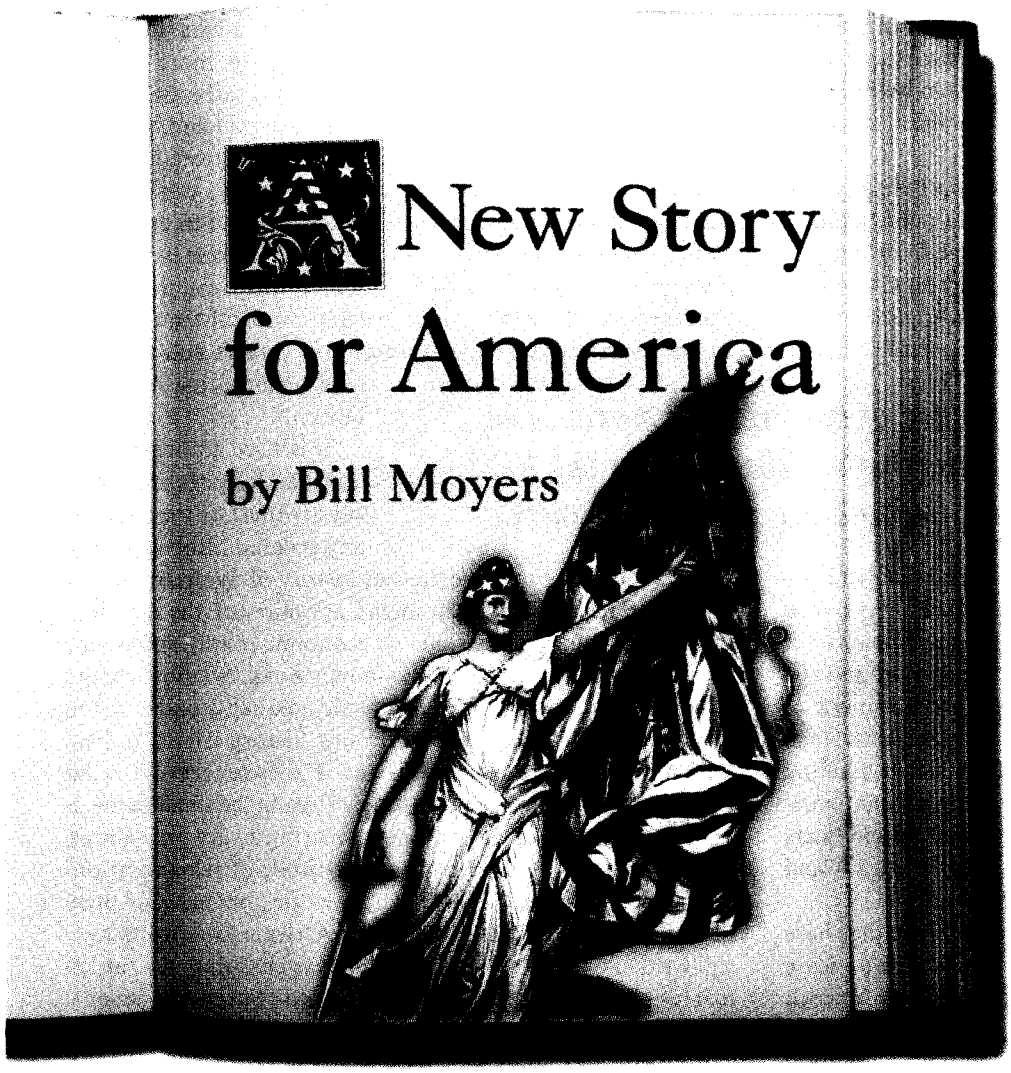
ARTICLES



The following is an adaptation of remarks made by Bill Moyers to a December 12 gathering in New York sponsored by The Nation, *Demos, the Brennan Center for Justice and the New Democracy Project.* —*The Editors*

You could not have chosen a better time to gather. Voters have provided a respite from a right-wing radicalism predicated on the philosophy that extremism in the pursuit of virtue is no vice. It seems only yesterday that the Trojan horse of conservatism was hauled into Washington to disgorge Newt Gingrich, Tom DeLay, Ralph Reed, Grover Norquist and their hearty band of ravenous predators masquerading as a political party of small government, fiscal restraint and moral piety and promising "to restore accountability to Congress...[and] make us all proud again of the way free people govern themselves."

Well, the long night of the junta is over, and Democrats are ebullient as they prepare to take charge of the multitrillion-dollar influence racket that we used to call the US Congress. Let them rejoice while they can, as long as they remember that while they ran some good campaigns, they have arrived at this moment mainly because George W. Bush lost a war most people have come to believe should never have been fought in the first place. Let them remember, too, in this interim of sweet anticipation, that although they are reveling in the ruins of a Republican reign brought down by stupendous scandals, their own closet is stocked with skeletons from an era when they were routed from office following Abscam bribes and savings and loan swindles that plucked the pockets and purses of hard-working, tax-paying Americans.

As they rejoice, Democrats would be wise to be mindful of Shakespeare's counsel, "'Tis more by fortune...than by merit." For they were delivered from the wilderness not by their own goodness and purity but by the grace of K Street corruption, DeLay Inc.'s duplicity, the pitiless exploitation of Terri Schiavo, the disgrace of Mark Foley and a shameful partisan cover-up, the shamelessness of Jack Abramoff and a partisan conspiracy, and neocon arrogance and amorality (yes, amoral: Apparently there is no end to the number of bodies Bill Kristol and Richard Perle are prepared to watch pile up on behalf of illusions that can't stand the test of reality even one Beltway block from the think tanks where they are hatched). The Democrats couldn't have been more favored by the gods if they had actually believed in one!

But whatever one might say about the election, the real story is one that our political and media elites are loath to acknowledge or address. I am not speaking of the lengthy list of priorities that progressives and liberals of every stripe are eager to put on the table now that Democrats hold the cards in Congress. Just the other day a message popped up on my computer from a progressive advocate whose work I greatly admire. Committed to movement-building from the ground up, he has results to show for his labors. His request was simple: "With changes in Congress and at our state capitol, we want your input on what top issues our lawmakers should tackle. Click here to submit your top priority."

I clicked. Sure enough, up came a list of thirty-four issues—an impressive list that began with "African-American" and ran alphabetically through "energy" and "higher education" to "guns," "transportation," "women's issues" and "workers' rights."

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It wasn't a list to be dismissed, by any means, for it came from an unrequited thirst for action after a long season of malignant opposition to every item on the agenda. I understand the mindset. Here's a fellow who values allies and appreciates what it takes to build coalitions; who knows that although our interests as citizens vary, each one is an artery to the heart that pumps life through the body politic, and each is important to the health of democracy. This is an activist who knows political success is the sum of many parts.

But America needs something more right now than a "must-do" list from liberals and progressives. America needs a different story. The very morning I read the message from the progressive activist, the *New York Times* reported on Carol Ann Reyes. Carol Ann Reyes is 63. She lives in Los Angeles, suffers from dementia and is homeless. Somehow she made her way to a hospital with serious, untreated needs. No details were provided as to what happened to her there, except that the hospital—which is part of Kaiser Permanente, the largest HMO in the country—called a cab and sent her back to skid row. True, they phoned ahead to workers at a rescue shelter to let them know she was coming. But some hours later a surveillance camera picked her up "wandering around the streets in a hospital gown and slippers." Dumped in America.

Because of the great disparities in wealth, the 'shining city on the hill' has become a gated community.

Here is the real political story, the one most politicians won't even acknowledge: the reality of the anonymous, disquieting daily struggle of ordinary people, including the most marginalized and vulnerable Americans but also young workers and elders and parents, families and communities, searching for dignity and fairness against long odds in a cruel market world.

Everywhere you turn you'll find people who believe they have been written out of the story. Everywhere you turn there's a sense of insecurity grounded in a gnawing fear that freedom in America has come to mean the freedom of the rich to get richer even as millions of Americans are dumped from the Dream. So let me say what I think up front: The leaders and thinkers and activists who honestly tell that story and speak passionately of the moral and religious values it puts in play will be the first political generation since the New Deal to win power back for the people.

There's no mistaking that America is ready for change. One of our leading analysts of public opinion, Daniel Yankelovich, reports that a majority want social cohesion and common ground based on pragmatism and compromise, patriotism and diversity. But because of the great disparities in wealth, the "shining city on the hill" has become a gated community whose privileged occupants, surrounded by a moat of money and protected by a political system seduced with cash into subservience, are removed from the common life of the country. The wreckage of this abdication by elites is all around us.

Corporations are shredding the social compact, pensions are disappearing, median incomes are flattening and healthcare costs are soaring. In many ways, the average household is generally worse off today than it was thirty years ago, and the public sector that was a support system and safety net for millions of Americans across three generations is in tatters. For a time, stagnating wages were somewhat offset by more work and more personal debt. Both political parties craftily refashioned those major renovations of the average household as the new standard, shielding employers from responsibility for anything Wall Street didn't care about. Now, however, the more acute major risks workers have been forced to bear as employers reduce their health and retirement costs—on orders from Wall Street—have made it clear that our fortunes are being reversed. Polls show that a majority of US workers now believe their children will be worse off than they are. In one recent survey, only 14 percent of workers said that they have obtained the American Dream.

It is hard to believe that less than four decades ago a key architect of the antipoverty program, Robert Lampman, could argue that the "recent history of Western nations reveals an increasingly widespread adoption of the idea that substantial equality of social and economic conditions among individuals is a good thing." Economists call that postwar era "the Great Compression." Poverty and inequality had declined dramatically for the first time in our history. Here, as Paul Krugman recently recounted, is how *Time*'s report on the national outlook in 1953 summed it up: "Even in the smallest towns and most isolated areas, the U.S. is wearing a very prosperous, middle-class suit of clothes, and an attitude of relaxation and confidence. People are not growing wealthy, but more of them than ever before are getting along." African-Americans were still written out of the story, but that was changing, too, as heroic resistance emerged across the South to awaken our national conscience. Within a decade, thanks to the civil rights movement and President Johnson, the racial cast of federal policy—including some New Deal programs—was aggressively repudiated, and shared prosperity began to breach the color line.

To this day I remember John F. Kennedy's landmark speech at the Yale commencement in 1962. Echoing Daniel Bell's cold war classic *The End of Ideology*, JFK proclaimed the triumph of "practical management of a modern economy" over the "grand warfare of rival ideologies." The problem with this—and still a major problem today—is that the purported ideological cease-fire ended only a few years later. But the Democrats never re-armed, and they kept pinning all their hopes on economic growth, which by its very nature is valueless and cannot alone provide answers to social and moral questions that arise in the face of resurgent crisis. While "practical management of a modern economy" had a kind of surrogate legitimacy as long as it worked, when it no longer worked, the nation faced a paralyzing moral void in deciding how the burdens should be borne. Well-organized conservative forces, firing on all ideological pistons, rushed to fill this void with a story corporate America wanted us to hear. Inspired by bumper-sticker abstractions of Milton Friedman's ideas, propelled by cascades of cash from corporate chieftans like Coors and Koch and "Neutron" Jack Welch, forti-

Bill Moyers is president of the Schumann Center for Media and Democracy. *He wishes to acknowledge with gratitude the significant assistance of Lew Daly, senior fellow at the center, in the preparation of these remarks.*

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fied by the pious prescriptions of fundamentalist political preachers like Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson, the conservative armies marched on Washington. And they succeeded brilliantly.

When Ronald Reagan addressed the Republican National Convention in 1980, he a told a simple story, one that had great impact. "The major issue of this campaign is the direct political, personal and moral responsibility of Democratic Party leadership—in the White House and in Congress—for this unprecedented calamity which has befallen us." He declared, "I will not stand by and watch this great country destroy itself." It was a speech of bold contrasts, of good private interest versus bad government, of course. More important, it personified these two forces in a larger narrative of freedom, reaching back across the Great Depression, the Civil War and the American Revolution, all the way back to the Mayflower Compact. It so dazzled and demoralized Democrats they could not muster a response to the moral abandonment and social costs that came with the Reagan revolution.

President Abraham Lincoln believed government should be not just 'of the people' and 'by the people' but 'for the people.'

We too have a story of freedom to tell, and it too reaches back across the Great Depression, the Civil War and the American Revolution, all the way back to the Mayflower Compact. It's a story with clear and certain foundations, like Reagan's, but also a tumultuous and sometimes violent history of betrayal that he and other conservatives consistently and conveniently ignore.

Reagan's story of freedom superficially alludes to the Founding Fathers, but its substance comes from the Gilded Age, devised by apologists for the robber barons. It is posed abstractly as the freedom of the individual from government control—a Jeffersonian ideal at the root of our Bill of Rights, to be sure. But what it meant in politics a century later, and still means today, is the freedom to accumulate wealth without social or democratic responsibilities and the license to buy the political system right out from under everyone else, so that democracy no longer has the ability to hold capitalism accountable for the good of the whole.

And that is not how freedom was understood when our country was founded. At the heart of our experience as a nation is the proposition that each one of us has a right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." As flawed in its reach as it was brilliant in its inspiration for times to come, that proposition carries an inherent imperative: "inasmuch as the members of a liberal society have a right to basic requirements of human development such as education and a minimum standard of security, they have obligations to each other, mutually and through their government, to ensure that conditions exist enabling every person to have the opportunity for success in life."

The quote comes directly from Paul Starr, one of our most formidable public thinkers, whose forthcoming book, *Freedom's Power: The True Force of Liberalism*, is a profound and stirring call for liberals to reclaim the idea of America's greatness as their own. Starr's book is one of three new books that in a just world would be on every desk in the House and Senate when Congress convenes again.

John Schwarz, in *Freedom Reclaimed: Rediscovering the American Vision*, rescues the idea of freedom from market cultists whose "particular idea of freedom...has taken us down a terribly mistaken road" toward a political order where "government ends up servicing the powerful and taking from everyone else." The free-market view "cannot provide us with a philosophy we find compelling or meaningful," Schwarz writes. Nor does it assure the availability of economic opportunity "that is truly adequate to each individual and the status of full legal as well as political equality." Yet since the late nineteenth century it has been used to shield private power from democratic accountability, in no small part because conservative rhetoric has succeeded in denigrating government even as conservative politicians plunder it.

But government, Schwarz reminds us, "is not simply the way we express ourselves collectively but also often the only way we preserve our freedom from private power and its incursions." That is one reason the notion that every person has a right to meaningful opportunity "has assumed the position of a moral bottom line in the nation's popular culture ever since the beginning." Freedom, he says, is "considerably more than a private value." It is essentially a social idea, which explains why the worship of the free market "fails as a compelling idea in terms of the moral reasoning of freedom itself." Let's get back to basics, is Schwarz's message. Let's recapture our story.

Norton Garfinkle picks up on both Schwarz and Starr in *The American Dream vs. the Gospel of Wealth*, as he describes how America became the first nation on earth to offer an economic vision of opportunity for even the humblest beginner to advance, and then moved, in fits and starts—but always irrepressibly—to the invocation of positive government as the means to further that vision through politics. No one understood this more clearly, Garfinkle writes, than Abraham Lincoln, who called on the federal government to save the Union. He turned to large government expenditures for internal improvements—canals, bridges and railroads. He supported a strong national bank to stabilize the currency. He provided the first major federal funding for education, with the creation of land grant colleges. And he kept close to his heart an abiding concern for the fate of ordinary people, especially the ordinary worker but also the widow and orphan. Our greatest President kept his eye on the sparrow. He believed government should be not just "of the people" and "by the people" but "for the people." Including, we can imagine, Carol Ann Reyes.

The great leaders of our tradition—Jefferson, Lincoln and the two Roosevelts—understood the power of our story. In my time it was FDR, who exposed the false freedom of the aristocratic narrative. He made the simple but obvious point that where once political royalists stalked the land, now economic royalists owned everything standing. Mindful of Plutarch's warning that "an imbalance between rich and poor is the oldest and most fatal ailment of all republics," Roosevelt famously told America, in 1936, that "the average man once more confronts the problem that faced the Minute Man." He gathered together the remnants of the great reform movements of the Progressive Age—including those of his late-blooming cousin, Teddy—into

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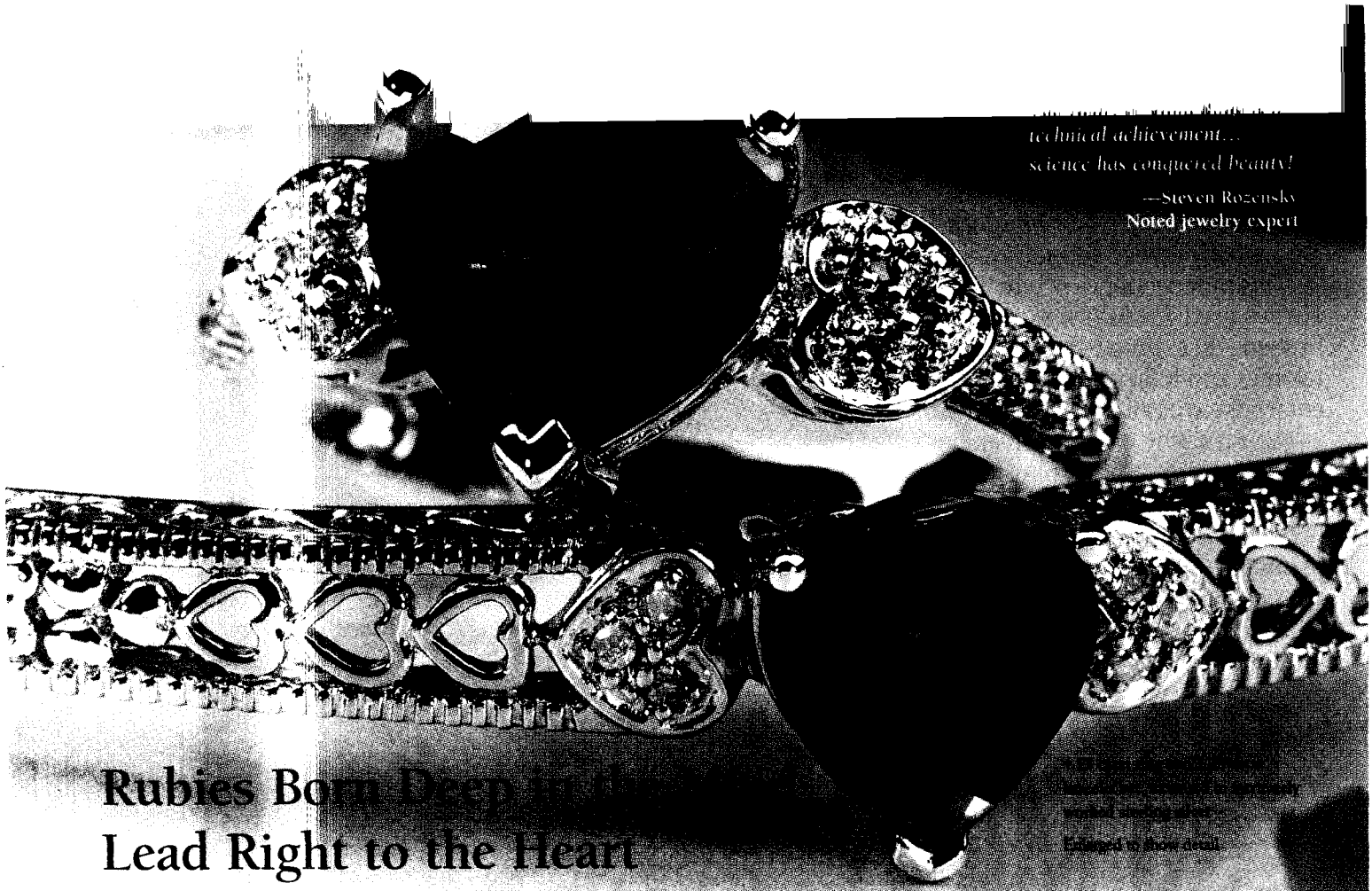

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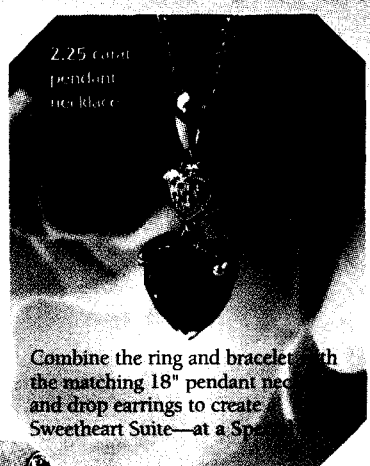

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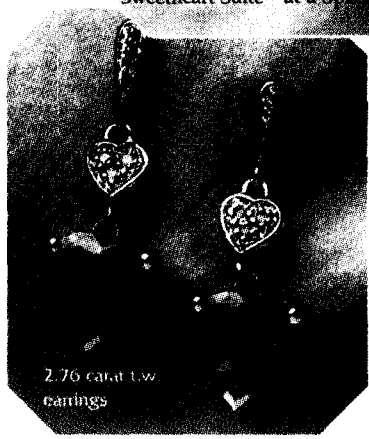

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a singular political cause that would be ratified again and again by people who categorically rejected the laissez-faire anarchy that had produced destructive, unfettered and ungovernable power. Now came collective bargaining and workplace rules, cash assistance for poor children, Social Security, the GI Bill, home mortgage subsidies, progressive taxation—democratic instruments that checked economic tyranny and helped secure America's great middle class. And these were only the beginning. The Marshall Plan, the civil rights revolution, reaching the moon, a huge leap in life expectancy—every one of these great outward achievements of the last century grew from shared goals and collaboration in the public interest.

So it is that contrary to what we have heard rhetorically for a generation now, the individualist, greed-driven, free-market ideology is at odds with our history and with what most Americans really care about. More and more people agree that growing inequality is bad for the country, that corporations have too much power, that money in politics is corrupting democracy and that working families and poor communities need and deserve help when the market system fails to generate shared prosperity. Indeed, the American public is committed to a set of values that almost perfectly contradicts the conservative agenda that has dominated politics for a generation now.

Democrats talk about a 'new direction' without convincing us they know the difference between a weather vane and a compass.

The question, then, is not about changing people; it's about reaching people. I'm not speaking simply of better information, a sharper and clearer factual presentation to disperse the thick fogs generated by today's spin machines. Of course, we always need stronger empirical arguments to back up our case. It would certainly help if at least as many people who believe, say, in a "literal devil" or that God sent George W. Bush to the White House also knew that the top 1 percent of households now have more wealth than the bottom 90 percent combined. Yes, people need more information than they get from the media conglomerates with their obsession for nonsense, violence and pap. And we need, as we keep hearing, "new ideas." But we are at an extraordinary moment. The conservative movement stands intellectually and morally bankrupt while Democrats talk about a "new direction" without convincing us they know the difference between a weather vane and a compass. The right story will set our course for a generation to come.

Some stories doom us. In *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed*, Jared Diamond tells of the Viking colony that disappeared in the fifteenth century. The settlers had scratched a living on the sparse coast of Greenland for years, until they encountered a series of harsh winters. Their livestock, the staple of their diet, began to die off. Although the nearby waters teemed with haddock and cod, the colony's mythology prohibited the eating of fish. When their supply of hay ran out during a last terrible winter, the colony was finished. They had been doomed by their story.

Here in the first decade of the twenty-first century the story that becomes America's dominant narrative will shape our collective imagination and hence our politics. In the searching of our souls demanded by this challenge, those of us in this room and kindred spirits across the nation must confront the most fundamental progressive failure of the current era: the failure to embrace a moral vision of America based on the transcendent faith that human beings are more than the sum of their material appetites, our country is more than an economic machine, and freedom is not license but responsibility—the gift we have received and the legacy we must bequeath.

In our brief sojourn here we are on a great journey. For those who came before us and for those who follow, our moral, political and religious duty is to make sure that this nation, which was conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that we are all created equal, is in good hands on our watch.

One story would return America to the days of radical laissez-faire, when there was no social contract and the strong took what they could and the weak were left to forage. The other story joins the memory of struggles that have been waged with the possibility of victories yet to be won, including healthcare for every American and a living wage for every worker. Like the mustard seed to which Jesus compared the Kingdom of God, nurtured from small beginnings in a soil thirsty for new roots, our story has been a long time unfolding. It reminds us that the freedoms and rights we treasure were not sent from heaven and did not grow on trees. They were, as John Powers has written, "born of centuries of struggle by untold millions who fought and bled and died to assure that the government can't just walk into our bedrooms and read our mail, to protect ordinary people from being overrun by massive corporations, to win a safety net against the often-cruel workings of the market, to guarantee that businessmen couldn't compel workers to work more than forty hours a week without extra compensation, to make us free to criticize our government without having our patriotism impugned, and to make sure that our leaders are answerable to the people when they choose to send our soldiers into war." The eight-hour day, the minimum wage, the conservation of natural resources, free trade unions, old-age pensions, clean air and water, safe food—all these began with citizens and won the endorsement of the political class only after long struggles and bitter attacks. Democracy works when people claim it as their own.

It is only rarely remembered that the definition of democracy immortalized by Lincoln in the Gettysburg Address had been inspired by Theodore Parker, the abolitionist prophet. Driven from his pulpit, Parker said, "I will go about and preach and lecture in the city and glen, by the roadside and field-side, and wherever men and women may be found." He became the Hound of Freedom and helped to change America through the power of the word. We have a story of equal power. It is that the promise of America leaves no one out. Go now, and tell it on the mountains. From the rooftops, tell it. From your laptops, tell it. From the street corners and from Starbucks, from delis and from diners, tell it. From the workplace and the bookstore, tell it. On campus and at the mall, tell it. Tell it at the synagogue, sanctuary and mosque. Tell it where you can, when you can and while you can—to every candidate for office, to every talk-show host and pundit, to corporate executives and schoolchildren. Tell it—for America's sake. ■

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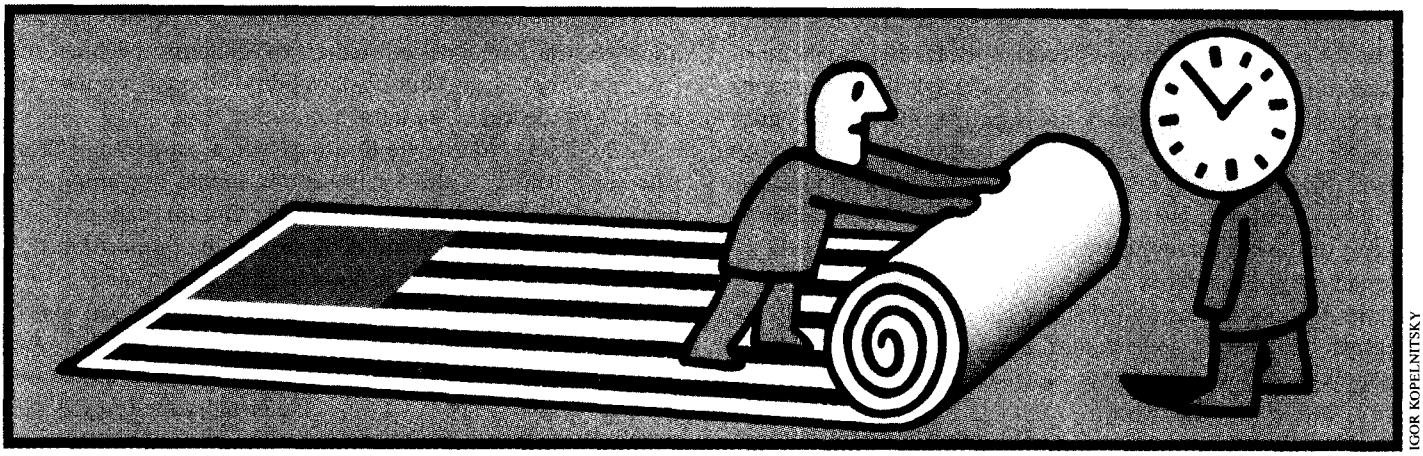
THE NEW DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS DOESN'T HAVE TO REINVENT THE WHEEL. MANY GOOD BILLS ON ISSUES RANGING FROM IRAQ TO HEALTHCARE ARE JUST WAITING TO BE PASSED.



IGOR KOPELNITSKY

Top 10 for a More Perfect Union

KATRINA VANDEN HEUVEL

The "thumping" taken by the Republican Congress on election day was not just a rejection of K Street corruption and the catastrophe in Iraq. It was a call to action on issues that are more immediately relevant to people's lives. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi will begin to answer that call by pushing a "100 Hours" agenda—including common-sense legislation to increase the minimum wage, cut interest on student loans and open the way for Medicare to negotiate prescription drug prices.

That's a good beginning, but it's only a down payment on a broader agenda. As Bill Moyers writes in this issue, progressives now have the opportunity to develop a new vision that returns power to the American people for the first time in generations. Moyers is right that to-do lists don't add up to a vision. But Democrats must show they are serious by passing bold measures that define a new "people's agenda." With that in mind, here are ten existing pieces of legislation that deserve to be passed by our new Congress. Some of these bills are eminently passable, a few are related to the "100 Hours" agenda and others can be seen as long-term goals. But all would help return our nation to the path to a more perfect union (note: Bill numbers may change in the new Congress).

1. Healthcare for All

More than 47 million Americans are now living without health coverage. Representative John Conyers's United States National Health Insurance Act (HR 676) would create a single-payer healthcare system by expanding Medicare to every resident. All necessary medical care would be covered—from prescription drugs to hospital services to long-term care. There would be no deductibles or co-payments. Funding would come from sources including savings from negotiated bulk procurement of medications; a tax on the top 5 percent of income earners; and a phased-in payroll tax that is lower than what employers currently pay for less comprehensive employee health coverage. With seventy-eight Congressional co-sponsors, and the endorsement of more than 200 labor organizations as well as healthcare groups, there is muscle and momentum behind this bill. To get involved, check out www.Healthcare-Now.org.

2. Counting Every Vote

Representative Rush Holt has introduced the Voter Confidence and Increased Accessibility Act (HR 550) requiring all voting systems to provide a voter-verified paper trail to serve as the official ballot for recounts and audits. It would also insure accessibility for voters with disabilities. The bill, which was introduced in February 2005 and which currently has 222 bipartisan co-sponsors, was tied up in committee by the Republican Congress. Senators Hillary Clinton and Barbara Boxer and Representative Stephanie Tubbs Jones introduced the Count Every Vote Act (S 450 and HR 939), which also calls for a voter-verified paper trail and would improve access for language minority voters, illiterate voters and voters with disabilities. Co-sponsors of that legislation include Senators John Kerry, Frank Lautenberg, Patrick Leahy and Barbara Mikulski, and seventy-nine House members.

3. Healthy Families Act

According to *Washington Post* columnist Amy Joyce, "nearly half of all private-sector workers in the United States do not have a single day of paid sick leave. And more do not have a paid day off that can be used to care for a sick child." Seventy-five percent of low-wage workers lack paid sick leave—the very people who can least afford to take a day off and still be able to pay the bills. In 2005 Senator Edward Kennedy and Representative Rosa DeLauro introduced the Healthy Families Act (S 932 and HR 1902)—a bill

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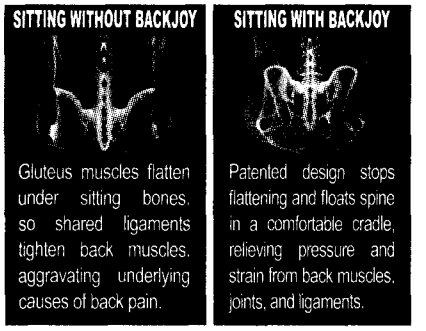
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that would require employers with fifteen or more workers to provide one week of paid sick leave for those who work thirty or more hours a week. Employees who work less than that would receive prorated leave. The leave could be used to care for family as well. The new Democratic Congress is expected to hold hearings on the legislation, which has fifteen original co-sponsors in the Senate and seventy-one in the House, in early 2007.

4. The Right to Organize

The Employee Free Choice Act (S 842 and HR 1696) would strengthen workers' freedom to organize by requiring employers to recognize a union after a majority of workers sign cards authorizing representation. It also would create stronger penalties for management violations of the right to organize when workers seek to form a union. Currently there are 214 co-sponsors of Representative George Miller's House bill (including fourteen Republicans) and forty-four co-sponsors of Kennedy's legislation in the Senate (including Republican Senator Arlen Specter). This legislation would go a long way toward helping the 57 million nonunion workers in the United States who, according to polls, would form a union tomorrow if given the opportunity.

5. No Permanent Bases in Iraq

Representative Barbara Lee, co-chair of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, has proposed House Conference Resolution 197, which declares that it is "the policy of the United States not to enter into any base agreement with the Government of Iraq that would lead to a permanent United States military presence in Iraq." By passing this bill, Congress can send a clear and immediate signal to the Iraqi people and the international community that the United States has no intention of staying in Iraq indefinitely. There were eighty-six co-sponsors of Lee's legislation, including three Republicans.

6. Stop Outsourcing Torture

Representative Ed Markey's Torture Outsourcing Prevention Act (HR 952) directs the Secretary of State to submit to Congress an annual list of countries where there are substantial grounds for believing that torture or cruel and degrading treatment is commonly used in detention or interrogation. The bill prohibits the direct or indirect transfer or return of people by the United States for the purpose of detention, interrogation, trial or other purposes to a listed country. Given the recent history of black sites, torture flights, innocent victims and suspension of habeas corpus, this legislation should be an immediate priority. It is one modest step in the right direction. It currently has seventy-seven co-sponsors.

7. Access to Higher Education

Senator Richard Durbin and Representative George Miller's Reverse the Raid on Student Aid Act (S 2573 and HR 5150) would cut interest rates on college loans for student and parent borrowers. The legislation would save $5,600 for the typical student borrower, who currently graduates with $17,500 in student-loan debt. The Durbin-Miller legislation cuts interest rates in half, from 6.8 percent to 3.4 percent, for students with subsidized loans, and from 8.5 percent to 4.25 percent for parents. Earlier this year, the GOP Congress cut $12 billion out of federal student aid programs to help finance tax breaks for the wealthiest Americans. The average tuition and fees at four-year public colleges have risen 40 percent when adjusted for inflation, since 2001, according to the College Board's *Annual Survey of Colleges*. And the average student debt has increased by more than 50 percent over the past decade, according to the Project on Student Debt. With economic inequality and the concentration of wealth reaching unprecedented levels, improving access to higher education is essential. It also is critical if we are to reverse the trend of the US workforce lagging behind other nations in education.

8. Free and Independent Media

Representative Maurice Hinchey sponsored the Media Ownership Reform Act (MORA—HR 3302), which seeks to restore a diverse media by significantly lowering the number of media outlets one company is permitted to own in a single market. Since 1996 the Federal Communications Commission has promoted massive media consolidation by increasing that number, allowing telecommunications corporations to buy up a larger share of television and radio stations, newspapers and other media outlets, and forcing independent and local media owners out of business. There are sixteen co-sponsors of MORA in the House.

9. Public Financing of Campaigns

Representative John Tierney introduced the Clean Money, Clean Elections Act (HR 3099) last year with thirty-nine Democrats and one Independent as co-sponsors. The bill establishes a voluntary system that offers candidates an option for public financing and reduced rates on broadcast advertising in exchange for self-imposed limits on campaign financing and spending. Participating candidates get a dollar-for-dollar match, up to a set limit, if a nonparticipating opponent spends more than the basic public-financing grant. This system would free candidates from the burden of continuous fundraising; allow those who obtain a prescribed number of contributions to run regardless of their economic status or access to large funders; and, perhaps most important, eliminate the skewed priorities caused by the financing of campaigns by special-interest contributors.

10. Clean Energy

Last May Senator Maria Cantwell introduced the Clean EDGE Act (S 2829) with twenty-four Democratic co-sponsors. The bill sets a goal of reducing US petroleum consumption by 6 million barrels a day by 2020—or 40 percent of America's projected imports. It mandates that 25 percent of new vehicles sold in the United States by 2010 be flex-fuel capable (able to run on higher blends of biofuels, which help to displace petroleum), rising to 50 percent by 2020. It also sets a national goal of installing alternative fuels at 10 percent of US gas stations by 2015. The bill also makes gas price-gouging a federal crime. It ends subsidies for major oil companies and extends incentives for renewable energy and efficiency technologies. To shrink US dependence on fossil fuels and reduce greenhouse gas emissions, the bill requires that 10 percent of all US electricity come from renewable sources by 2020. A report by the Apollo Alliance and the Economic Policy Institute estimates that the Clean EDGE Act would create more than 500,000 jobs, including tens of thousands in states hit hardest by the loss of 3 million manufacturing jobs.

This list is by no means all-inclusive. But these are good and important initiatives that address longstanding and formidable challenges. ■

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Professor Michael Starbird is a distinguished and highly popular teacher with an uncommon talent for making the wonders of mathematics clear. He is Professor of Mathematics and a Distinguished Teaching Professor at The University of Texas at Austin, where he has received the President's Associates Teaching Award, the Jean Holloway Award for Teaching Excellence, and the Friar Society Centennial Teaching Fellowship.

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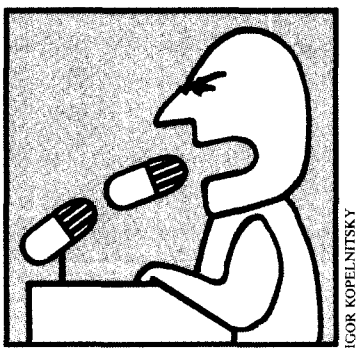
CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS COULD LAY THE FOUNDATION FOR SIGNIFICANT REFORMS.

Ten Blockbuster Hearings

CHUCK COLLINS

On May 9, 1975, a Senate committee chaired by Frank Church subpoenaed acting CIA director William Colby during an investigation of intelligence agencies. Colby (after practice sessions with President Gerald Ford's chief of staff, Donald Rumsfeld) was grilled about US covert operations, illegal assassinations and domestic spying abuses. The stunning revelations of the Church Committee hearings were followed by several years of rigorous Congressional oversight and reform legislation.



IGOR KOPELNITSKY

How can progressives best grab the momentum from the November elections to promote bold initiatives to end illegal war, fight poverty and inequality, and rein in the corporations that are destroying our democracy? Congressional oversight hearings could be one critical tool. And that's not as boring as it sounds.

Members of the Congressional Progressive Caucus are in line to chair ten of the twenty standing House committees and as many as thirty-five subcommittees. If they are media savvy and work creatively with activists and affected communities, they could turn humdrum hearings into blockbuster investigations that wrench the nation's attention away from Britney and Paris (not the city) and onto the pressing matters of our time. And while the Democrats' narrow majority will make it difficult to pass very much progressive legislation in the 110th Congress, well-designed hearings could lay the foundation for significant reforms in the medium and long term.

While impeachment may be "off the table," Congress has a duty to investigate executive-branch misconduct to insure that such abuses of power never occur again. The wider public will be repulsed if Democrats appear to copycat GOP partisanship with vindictive investigations rather than solutions to the nation's urgent problems. Thus, rather than going for Bush's jugular, the House and Senate Judiciary Committees will probably first take up the matter of "signing statements"—the President's practice of indicating the provisions of new laws he doesn't intend to enforce—which effectively undermine Congressional legislative intent and powers. This will wisely begin the process of laying out, case by case, the unconstitutional usurpation of power without deflecting media coverage from other urgent matters.

I have received hundreds of suggestions for hearings (add yours at www.ips-dc.org/hearings) and have filtered the ideas through the following strategic prisms: Do they advance a bold progressive vision and connect to organized movements? Do they tell dramatic human-interest stories and lay the groundwork for progressive policy victories? Do they look forward and showcase new ideas but also put irresponsible corporations and the Bush agenda on the defensive? What follows are ten proposed hearings, culled from the suggestions of others and my own investigations, that would underscore the important progressive narrative that "we are all in this together" and expose the greed and selfish corporate interests undermining our common good.

1. The Katrina Divide. When the levees broke, more was revealed than just FEMA incompetence and presidential indifference. We got a horrifying picture of an America deeply fractured along lines of race and class. Hurricanes Katrina and Rita dramatized the results of two decades of "shift, shrink and shaft" antigovernment policies that, through privatization and corporate cronyism, have fueled the greatest polarization of income, wealth and opportunity since the Gilded Age.

Congress should team up with grassroots groups to hold hearings in Biloxi, Mississippi, and the Lower Ninth Ward of New Orleans to keep the oversight fire lit under FEMA, HUD and other federal agencies. But hearings must also revisit the larger questions of accountability and national direction: How did we allow this to happen? How can we prevent it from happening again? How much economic inequality should our society tolerate?

2. War Profiteering. During World War II Franklin Roosevelt said, "I don't want to see a single war millionaire created in the United States as a result of this world disaster." While FDR set the moral tone, it was Senator Harry Truman who led a bipartisan investigation that saved taxpayers more than $15 billion ($200 billion in 2005 dollars). The current Congress should invoke Give 'em Hell Harry's investigative legacy by kicking off war-profiteering hearings at the Truman Presidential Library in Missouri.

The Government Accountability Office recently identified thirty-six areas needing urgent Congressional oversight. At the top of the list was investigating the billions squandered by the Defense Department in the most privatized war in US history. The number of private contractors in Iraq is now more than 100,000, nearly approaching the size of our military forces stationed there. Incoming Government Reform Committee chair Henry Waxman should subpoena CEOs of military corporations to answer tough questions. He could query Halliburton CEO David Lesar about his company's waste of taxpayer money and equipment, overbilling and poor services. George David, CEO of United Technologies, should be asked why he is suing

Chuck Collins is a senior scholar at the Institute for Policy Studies, where he directs the Program on Inequality and the Common Good. He is co-author of the forthcoming book The Moral Measure of the Economy *(Orbis).*

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his Pentagon patrons to block the release of Black Hawk helicopter inspection reports. David Brooks, formerly of DHB Industries, can explain how many lives were endangered when the Pentagon was forced to recall 23,000 bulletproof vests of his company's subsidiary—and whether he used ill-gotten profits to throw a $10 million, celebrity-studded party for his daughter. Members of military families who held bake sales to buy body armor for their children fighting in Iraq should also be asked to give testimony, alongside that of the profiteers.

3. Torture. Congress should investigate and expose the Bush Administration's involvement in torture and the abhorrent practice of "extraordinary rendition," the sending of detainees to countries known for practicing torture. A key witness could be Maher Arar, the Canadian citizen of Syrian descent who was detained at Kennedy Airport in New York City in 2002 and accused of having links to Al Qaeda. The United States "rendered" Arar to Syria, where he was held in a dungeon for ten months and tortured. Although the Canadian government completely exonerated Arar and the head of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police resigned in disgrace, the Bush Administration has refused to clear Arar's name and to explain why he was "rendered" to Syria. Congressional hearings should lay the foundation for laws banning engagement in torture—either by US personnel directly or through outsourcing via rendition.

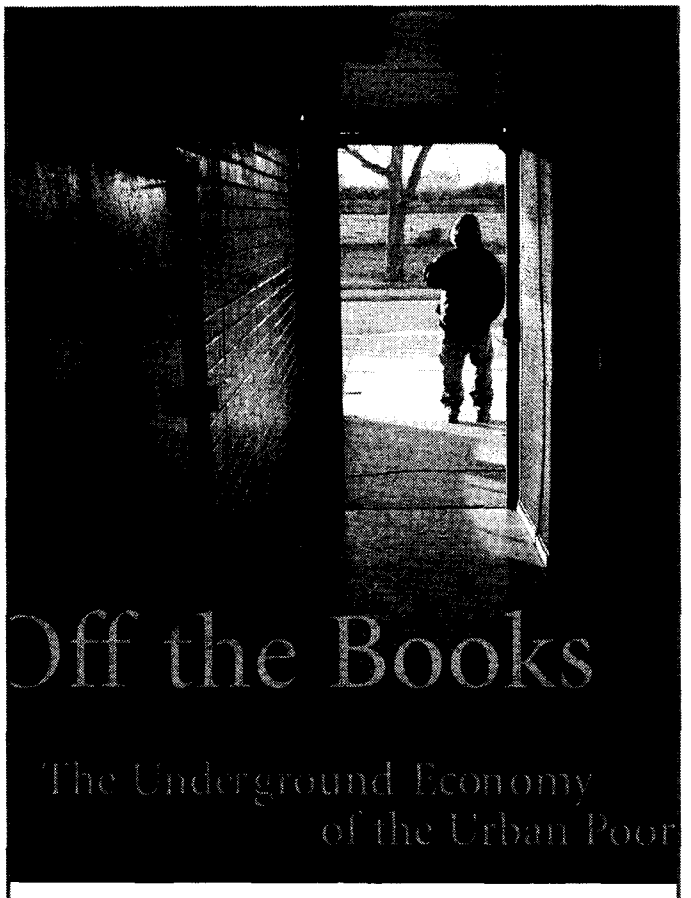
4. Unequal Sacrifice and the War. Representative Charles Rangel, the incoming chair of the House Ways and Means Committee, caused a ruckus when he proposed reinstituting the draft. But Rangel makes an important point that hearings could examine further the issue of unequal sacrifice and how our country's privileged and political elites are AWOL from military service.

We already have a backdoor draft through the military's use of multiple deployments and stop-loss policies, which have involuntarily retained some 85,000 troops beyond their expected or contractually agreed-upon term of service. Backdoor draft hearings should involve listening to families at National Guard and military bases around the country.

Unequal wartime sacrifices have taken their toll on active-duty military and recently returned veterans. There have been horrifying reports of traumatized soldiers being returned to combat zones. "We know so many stories of servicemen and -women with severe post-traumatic stress syndrome who should be getting the care they need, not facing redeployment," said Nancy Lessin, co-founder of Military Families Speak Out (www.mfso.org). "One mother found her son sitting on his bed with a pistol in his mouth, contemplating suicide after receiving a letter putting him on a short list for recall to Iraq—where he had already served two deployments."

Representative Bob Filner, the incoming chair of the Veterans Affairs Committee, has pledged to convene hearings about the unmet needs of recently returned veterans and their families. Filner should invite all other committee chairs and the media to Walter Reed Army Medical Center in Washington for the first hearing.

5. Runaway CEO Pay. Nothing symbolizes our polarizing "two Americas" more dramatically than the 411-to-1 ratio of average CEO compensation to average worker pay. The system is full of perverse incentives for CEOs to outsource



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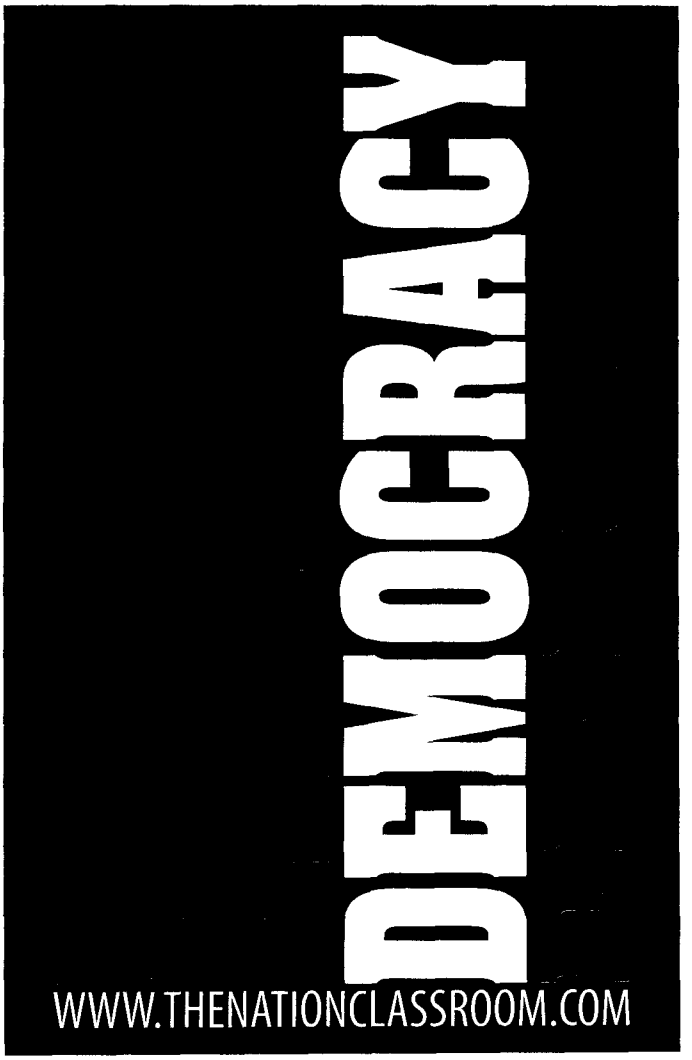

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Representative Barney Frank, the incoming chair of the House Financial Services Committee, has already pledged to hold CEO pay hearings. But the discussion needs to go beyond disclosure reforms to underscore the profound power imbalance between imperial corporate managers and other stakeholders, including workers, shareholders and communities.

Hearings are an opportunity to expose and change the culture of greed. Witnesses should include the abundant number of Warren Buffett–like business leaders who believe that reining in CEO pay is good for business. April 2007 hearings should feature the freshly disclosed top earners from 2006 along with infamous CEO compensation consultants and Lee Raymond, retired CEO of ExxonMobil, who could be queried about his $400 million retirement package.

6. Wealth Inequality and the Estate Tax. The wealth gap has reached unprecedented levels—and the racial wealth divide persists despite expanding homeownership in communities of color. We should investigate the ways the estate tax, our nation's only tax on inherited wealth, can help close this wealth divide.

After a decade of hysterical "death tax" propaganda, Congress should hold hearings to set the record straight about the benefits of taxing inherited wealth. Hearings could explore how the estate tax could better reduce the democracy-distorting concentrations of power and wealth—and whether revenue should be channeled to programs that broaden economic opportunity.

One witness could be Bill Gates Sr., who refers to the estate tax as an "opportunity recycling program" and urges that revenue from it be dedicated to a "GI Bill for the next generation." After World War II our nation expanded opportunities through homeownership programs, small-business development and grants that enabled millions to get higher education. Many people of color, however, were excluded from those programs because of racial bias. Progressives should champion a bold and inclusive new wealth-broadening program that speaks to the aspirations of people left behind in our apartheid economy.

7. Concentration of Corporate Power. Twenty-five years after the Reagan Administration gutted our nation's antitrust enforcement capacity, we have an unprecedented concentration of corporate power in virtually every sector of the economy, including banking, telecommunications, meatpacking and oil refining. Corporate consolidation corrupts the nation's politics and marketplace, especially in the media industry. Hearings should not only investigate the impact of corporate consolidation on consumers but on all levels of the economy, civic life and culture. Mergers and consolidation in retail, pharmacy and food industries have extinguished local businesses and turned Main Streets into bland homogeneous strips.

The House and Senate Judiciary Committees should launch robust antitrust hearings as a first step in exploring the impact of corporate concentration on our society. How did corporations gain so much power with so little social accountability? How have corporations undermined government oversight, taxation and regulation? Should we rewire the rules governing transnational corporations, including federal chartering and monitoring?

8. Oil Industry Influence. As part of the first 100 legislative hours, incoming House Speaker Nancy Pelosi has pledged that the new Congress will vote on legislation to eliminate archaic

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subsidies for Big Oil and channel funds into alternative energy efforts. Hearings should go further and expose the corrupting influence of Big Oil lobbying on our foreign policy, energy policy and tax code. Why has our country remained addicted to oil? Why do we continue to give privileged status to the retrograde government of Saudi Arabia? Why will China surpass us in the next decade as a leader in green energy technologies? From oil industry involvement in Vice President Cheney's secretive 2001 energy task force to the myriad provisions inserted into the tax code at the behest of the oil barons, the hardwired privileges of Big Oil are pervasive.

Hearings should expose the campaign contributions of Big Oil and their relation to policy outcomes, laying the groundwork for new and aggressive campaign finance and lobbying restrictions. Another worthy topic: the influence of Big Pharma on health policy and the credit-card industry on lending and bankruptcy laws.

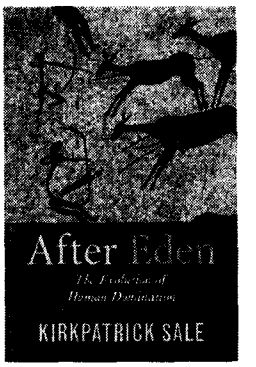
9. Censorship of Climate Science. One of the clearest examples of the corrosive power of Big Oil can be seen in the debate over global warming. Here the stakes are no less than the future of the planet. Climate scientists believe we are at a tipping point—that we must take dramatic action in the next five years if we are to reverse unbridled fossil-fuel consumption. But instead of addressing the problem and leading the nation in adopting appropriate measures, the Bush Administration has been censoring and suppressing climate science, setting back our needed responses by a decade.

Hearings can make up for lost time by bringing forward leading climate experts and activists to suggest voluntary and legislative action. But we must also investigate the Administration's unseemly efforts to censor or block sound scientific research. Let's subpoena Philip Cooney, the former oil industry lobbyist who became chief of staff of the White House Council on Environmental Quality and repeatedly edited and altered scientific climate reports to downplay links between greenhouse gases and global warming.

10. A Real Security Budget. Congress's security budgeting process has little to do with making our country and planet more secure—thanks to military industry lobbyists, a Pentagon fetish for glitzy weapons and a Congress that views military pork as an employment program (which explains why more Homeland Security funds are spent per capita in Wyoming than in New York City). The common-sense wisdom, from the 911 Commission to peace groups, is that we spend way too much on weapons and not enough on nonmilitary security efforts, including diplomacy, effective international aid, peacekeeping and programs to prevent proliferation of nuclear materials. The Iraq War further drains resources from nonmilitary strategies, fostering a vicious cycle of violence.

In 2006 a prestigious group of security specialists issued a call for a "unified security budget," proposing multibillion-dollar shifts in budget authority between military, homeland security and nonmilitary measures. But Congress is incapable of moving toward rational budget allocations because of committee budget fiefdoms. Progressive Democrats advocating a rational security and foreign policy will run smack into these structural impediments, including the feeding frenzy over the Pentagon's daily allowance of about $1.1 billion.

OUR OWN WORST ENEMY?



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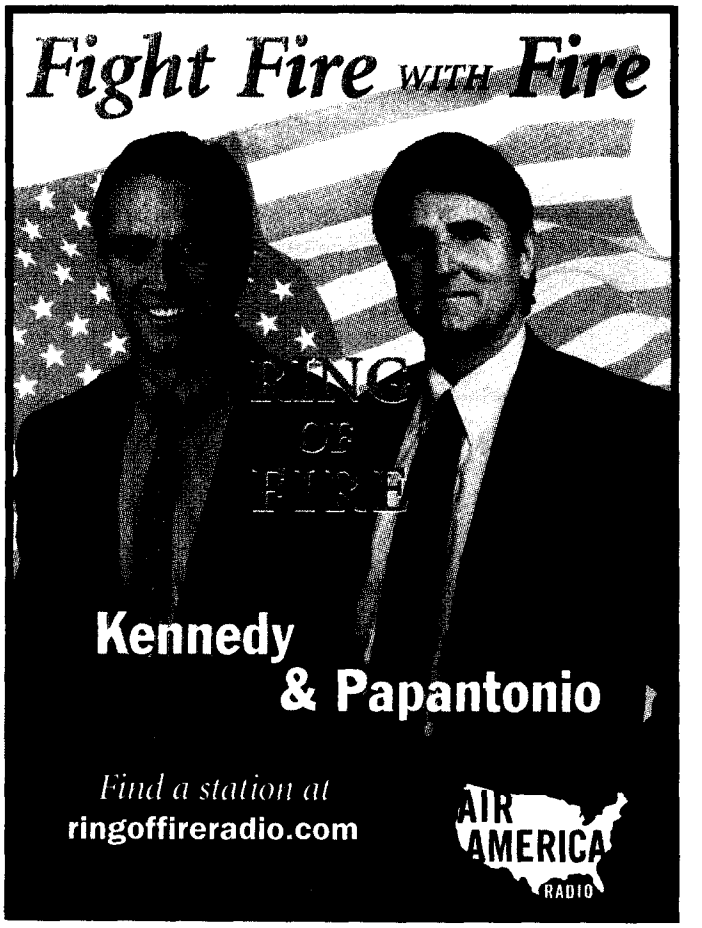

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Oversight Returns

Vermont Senator Patrick Leahy was asked in December whether President Bush should be "worried" that the liberal Democrat would soon take over as chair of the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee. "No, no," Leahy replied. "No, he shouldn't be worried. He should be terrified." The anecdote, which Leahy has delighted in repeating to Democratic audiences in his home state, highlights the most significant reality of the new Congress.

Yes, Democrats will be in control of the Senate for the first time since 2003 and of the House for the first time since 1995. But the majorities in both chambers are relatively narrow, and the executive branch is still in the hands of conservative Republicans who, for all their polite references to bipartisanship, are more than ready to take advantage of divided government to prevent the course correction that Americans voted for on November 7. So why would Bush be terrified by Leahy's chairmanship, or that of other Democrats who will be taking charge of key committees and subcommittees? Because the most important work of this Congress will be the restoration of a system of checks and balances—with the power to hold the executive branch to account—that even Republicans like Senator Chuck Hagel admit ceased to function during the first six years of the Bush presidency.

Committee and subcommittee chairs have the power not merely to advance legislation and review appointments but to schedule hearings, initiate investigations, compel executive branch members to release information and, where necessary, subpoena testimony from White House aides. Bush and to an even greater extent Vice President Cheney do not fear a Congress that seeks to raise the minimum wage or tinker with tax cuts for the rich. They can deal with those fights—indeed, they may even relish them for purposes of political positioning. But this most secretive of administrations fears investigation as a vampire does sunlight.

Bush and Cheney have reason to be concerned. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi may say that proposals to impeach the President and Vice President for abusing their offices and the Constitution are "off the table," and Senate majority leader Harry Reid may still be determined to block efforts by Senator Russ Feingold to censure Bush for approving warrantless wiretapping. But committee and subcommittee chairs have broad leeway, and many of the new chairs intend to tear away the veil of secrecy that until now has prevented examination of the manipulation of intelligence before the invasion of Iraq, profiteering by companies associated with Cheney and others, illegal spying, the targeting of critics for retribution and other abuses of power.

Impeachment and censure are best seen as organic processes that begin with investigations, which inspire public outrage. It is this outrage that ultimately emboldens members of Congress to place constitutional remedies on the table. There are no guarantees that this new Congress will get close enough to the truth of the Administration's misdeeds to inspire the application of the most severe of sanctions. But the right people are in the right places to advance the process. Consider that Feingold, the only senator to vote against the Patriot Act and the senator most concerned about checking the President's power to wage war without a proper declaration from Congress and to spy without a warrant, will now chair the Constitution subcommittee of Leahy's Judiciary Committee. Feingold, who says the censure option remains on his table, plans an ambitious set of hearings on issues related to the war and domestic eavesdropping.

His counterpart on the Constitution subcommittee of the House, Jerry Nadler, is equally prepared to hold the President to account. Last year, when he sought to force Attorney General Alberto Gonzales to submit documents to Congress pertaining to warrantless wiretapping, Nadler said, "The President took an oath to 'preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States,' and to 'take care that the laws be faithfully executed.' When he acts outside the limits set by the Constitution and contrary to the law, he engages in a criminal conspiracy against the United States, against the separation of powers, one of the chief pillars supporting our liberties, and against those liberties." Nadler went on, "This is a direct challenge to us. It is our responsibility, as members of the House of Representatives, to protect American liberties by investigating the President's usurpations of power and to determine whether they constitute 'high crimes and misdemeanors' in the constitutional sense. It would be a terrible dereliction of duty if we were to disregard this responsibility."

Nadler now finds himself positioned to perform oversight duties that had been stymied by Republicans. So, too, does House Government Reform Committee chair Henry Waxman. The new head of the chamber's chief investigative committee has a long list of issues on which he says the last Congress failed to conduct meaningful oversight. Item 1: "Congress has not investigated whether White House officials misrepresented intelligence on Iraq to make the case for war." Item 2: "Congress has not investigated the responsibility of senior Administration officials for Abu Ghraib and abuses of detainees." The list includes references to the many instances of abuse associated with Cheney's former firm Halliburton, which will face scrutiny not just from Waxman and his investigators but from the dozens of accounting detectives under the direction of House Appropriations Committee chair David Obey and investigators associated with the House Armed Services Committee, whose new chair, Ike Skelton, says one of his first acts will be to resurrect the subcommittee on oversight and investigations that Republicans had disbanded.

Waxman is likely to be in the forefront, however, as he is widely respected as the chamber's savviest and most unrelenting inquisitor. The California Democrat will not give Republicans a talking point by immediately dispatching the "blizzard of subpoenas" that they have predicted. Rather, he will marshal his evidence, dusting off the more than 2,000 reports prepared by his staff since he became the ranking Democrat on the committee a decade ago and filling in the blanks that were left open during the years of Republican hegemony—first with official requests from a now empowered committee chair and then, if necessary, with the full force of the Congress to compel cooperation.

"The most difficult thing will be to pick and choose," he says of his agenda. But Waxman has no doubt about the point of his inquiries: He will not rest, he says, until "Congressional oversight is reinvigorated and the checks and balances on which our system of government depends are restored."

In the process, a President and Vice President who for six years have governed without consequence may well learn that a Congress that takes the Constitution seriously can force the White House to do the same. JOHN NICHOLS

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Hearings may be helpful, but the entrenched corporate and national security state interests are so powerful that stronger medicine is required. Democrats should create a Select Committee on National Security and International Relations to look at the crosscutting requirements of the post–cold war world. This select committee should be empowered to recommend a reorganization of security-related budget writing that transcends current committee structures. Outside these hearings, peace and genuine security organizations should utilize their most creative educational tools, dramatizing the urgency of reorienting priorities.

Progressive lawmakers should launch several other committees over the next two years. Members of the Progressive Caucus are proposing a Select Committee on Poverty, Inequality and Opportunity in the House. A Select Committee on Federal Elections and Democracy could investigate the myriad problems with voting technology, voter suppression and the archaic Electoral College. A Select Committee on Infrastructure could investigate the condition of our bridges, highways and transportation systems, as well as our technology infrastructure needs.

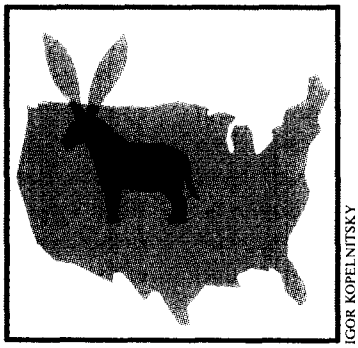
Don't just ask what your Congress can do for you. Progressive community activists and independent media need to maximize the synergy between hearings and organizing, bloggers and policy-makers. The hearings of the coming year will be what we make of them. ■

DEMOCRATS PROWL THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS IN SEARCH OF ELECTORAL COLLEGE VOTES.

Blue-ing the West

SASHA ABRAMSKY

A quarter-century ago, an up-and-coming senator from Colorado by the name of Gary Hart began outlining a Western strategy for the Democratic Party. His dream was to offset the national influence of an increasingly Republican South by building Democratic power in the Western states, which he saw as ripe terrain for such an effort. In 1984 Hart tried to bring this strategy to life by running for his party's presidential nomination. After a strong early showing, Hart lost the middle rounds of the caucus and primary season before winning almost all the Western states toward the end of the months-long process. In the end, however, he couldn't gain quite enough delegates to beat frontrunner Walter Mondale. Mondale, whose core base was the old industrial Midwest, went on to be thoroughly humbled by Reagan in the presidential election that November. Three years later, Hart entered the 1988 campaign as a charismatic frontrunner, only to self-destruct with the now-infamous sex scandal aboard the aptly named boat Monkey Business. Had that campaign not imploded, it's possible that two decades of rightward Southern drift in US politics would have been avoided.



IGOR KOPELNITSKY

Five presidential election cycles on, and the Western Strategy is back at the fore of Democratic strategic thinking, with talk of several early Western primaries, and Denver making a serious bid to host the 2008 Democratic convention (the Democratic National Committee will decide early this year). This time around there's a better-than-even chance that the West will fundamentally alter the regional balance of power within the party. After all, with the exception of Bill Clinton's triumphs—helped, at least in part, by the third-party presence of Ross Perot—and Jimmy Carter's victorious 1976 campaign, in presidential elections since 1968 Democrats have failed to break away Southern states from the Republican fold, leaving them grasping for a new source of Electoral College votes.

"We want to hit different regions of the country as well as different populations," Democratic National Committee spokeswoman Stacie Paxton explained last summer, before the Democrats scored big in the West in the November elections. "There's already an effort under way, through the '50 state strategy,' to ask for votes in every state. In Western states more people are coming our way, but we need to put in the resources to take it over the top and win in these states. You'll see a lot more interest in Western states: resources, candidates stopping in those states. We're making investments now so we can be successful in '06, in '08 and beyond."

November's election results vindicated this strategy. Building on gains in 2004, Democrats picked up four Congressional and Senate seats in the interior West, bolstered by one the number of governorships they control in the region and increased their presence in statehouses. In fact, the results may ultimately presage a political realignment as far-reaching as that following passage of the Voting Rights Act, which saw the decampment of a critical mass of conservative white voters in the South into the GOP and, in turn, the GOP's remaking of itself increasingly as a party of Southern values. In both the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections, the margin between George Bush and Gore/Kerry was within five points in New Mexico (which went narrowly for Gore in 2000) and Nevada and within five points in Colorado in 2004. Many strategists, who tout more than thirty Electoral College permutations that would allow a Democratic victory based primarily on inroads in the West, believe every Western state but Idaho, Utah and Wyoming could fall to a strong progressive-leaning presidential candidate in 2008.

Sasha Abramsky, a senior fellow at Demos, is the author of Conned: How Millions Went to Prison, Lost the Vote, and Helped Send George W. Bush to the White House *(New Press).*

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"National candidates really haven't invested in trying to pick up Electoral College votes in the Mountain West, with the possible exception of New Mexico," explains Arizona's Democratic governor, Janet Napolitano. "You need to be there, have a campaign structure, buy media time, have a real serious get-out-the-vote effort. The Democratic Party has to multitask. We have to deal with the South, but we have to win another area of the country; and this is an area where we're winning elections." In 2000 all eight of the interior Western states had Republican governors; today, with Bill Ritter's recent win in Colorado—springing from Senator Ken Salazar's victory in the state in 2004—five of the eight are run by Democrats.

Napolitano, long one of the leading boosters for opening up what might be termed a Western Front for nationally minded Democrats, argues that her party "has to broaden its base geographically and in terms of issues. For the party, it means a new, or a renewed, emphasis on issues predominating in the interior West. Part of that is people want a good quality of life, do not want government to dictate to them how they live their lives. They want good government but not big government. They're looking for pragmatic folks who produce results. How do you move goods and services and people, and preserve open space, and preserve economic opportunity for a growing number of people? You have to make your economies more diverse, be very entrepreneurial, rewarding those who will take a chance—and your public policies need to align with that." Napolitano cites Arizona's investment in high-tech university laboratories, the crafting of tax credits for research and development, the creation of state-backed research funds designed to leverage increased private-sector investment and an emphasis on conservation that protects the treasured open spaces of the West.

Winning in the West 'would make us a national party. Now we're an East Coast and a West Coast party,' says New Mexico's Governor Richardson.

Western politicians also believe immigration politics could play to the Democratic Party's advantage, not least because, despite Bush's efforts to moderate his party's stance, during the last year of the outgoing Congress hard-line Republicans hijacked the debate about border security and undocumented workers. "Democrats can come in and say, 'Yes, we want to secure our borders, but we want an immigration policy that works,'" Napolitano avers, explaining why she believes that an increasing number of Hispanic voters in the Southwest will turn to the Democrats as their party in the post-Bush years.

For New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson, a much-talked-about potential 2008 presidential candidate, immigration is part of a panoply of issues that should, he says, make his region "fertile territory" for national Democrats. "I've long been an advocate that the Democratic Party should emphasize and gravitate to the West," the Governor argues. Capturing states within his region would, he says, "give us a beachhead. It would make us a national party. Now we're an East Coast and a West Coast party."

November's election suggests that the shift he envisions may already be happening: Such states as Montana are now electing Democratic populists. Moreover, even before November's election, most of the big cities throughout the region, including Denver, Las Vegas, Salt Lake City, Albuquerque, Santa Fe, Boise and Missoula, were already run by Democratic mayors, or by mayors elected in nonpartisan races who openly identify with their state Democratic parties. These politicians have supported a dramatically increased minimum wage, and most have made economic populism a key part of their platform. They have stepped back from coastal Democrats' rhetoric on gun control—Richardson, who was endorsed by the National Rifle Association in his re-election campaign, is adamant that a candidate's position on gun control "should never be a litmus test again." Many have pushed energy conservation and alternative energy proposals as part of a larger Western environmental vision that has created unlikely alliances among hunters, fishermen, ranchers and Sierra Club–type environmentalists. And they have advocated large-scale investments in high-tech public transit systems in an attempt to curb runaway suburban sprawl.

"If you had the right kind of Democrat and took guns off the table," argues Governor Richardson's re-election campaign chief, Dave Contarino, "you could even win Montana."

While Richardson is the most obvious potential beneficiary of a Western tilt in '08, someone like John Edwards could also reap the fruits of this shift. In much the same way that a Californian, Ronald Reagan, rode to power atop the early Southern GOP wave, a Southern populist untainted by religious fundamentalism could ride the growing Western wave for the Democrats, creating alliances hinted at in Bill Clinton's two presidential election victories but subsequently lost. "Although a Southerner, he [Edwards] could connect," argues Boise Mayor David Bieter. For Bieter, winning the West is at least in part an exercise in linguistics rather than a matter of simply fielding regional candidates. "You need to learn to speak to the values of Westerners—it's a different political language, less ideological and more to people in their homes. The national party can be sort of elitist. The Republicans have been real skilled in taking somebody like Bush, with an absolute silver spoon upbringing, and making him appeal to the common man. And the Democrats have lost that touch."

In early 2005 Gary Hart—now a professor at the University of Colorado in Denver and described by local political consultant Mike Stratton as the "John the Baptist" of the Western movement—was asked by the chair of the state Democrats to write a memo that could be forwarded to incoming DNC chair Howard Dean, outlining the importance of the interior West to Democratic presidential prospects. Sitting down in his home in Kittredge, Hart typed out two and a half pages, broken down into ten crucial bullet points.

The party, he wrote, needed to pay more attention to Western environmental issues, with locally based environmental policies that didn't appear to be imposed from afar; it had to look toward a managed growth approach that would allow booming Western economies, increasingly based around high-tech companies in place of traditional resource-extraction industries, to grow while

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not undermining the high quality of life drawing so many to the region—and that would involve a commitment to invest heavily in public transit, clean-energy initiatives and anti-sprawl housing policies, all initiatives embraced by local Democratic politicians in recent years; it needed to promote a strong national security agenda that would appeal to Westerners long involved, from the earliest days of the cold war, in the country's military and defense infrastructure; and, finally, its leaders had to do more than pay lip service to the values of Western individualism.

"The religious right," Hart opined, "preaches values. Democrats, regionally and nationally, should espouse principles, for ourselves and for our country. 'Values' have religious overtones. Principles are humanistic and secular."

Hart's analysis borrowed significantly from Christopher Caldwell's influential 1998 article in *The Atlantic Monthly*, titled "The Southern Captivity of the GOP," in which Caldwell argued that the Southern flavor of the Republican Party, while providing it with short-term electoral success, was in the long run an Achilles' heel, with the conservative values espoused by the party faithful ultimately alienating middle-of-the-road suburbanites and Westerners.

'The West provides the Democratic Party's greatest opportunity and represents its greatest future.'—former Senator Gary Hart

The onetime senator's memo concluded with a prophecy: "The national Democratic Party should look Westward. The South will return to the Democratic Party only when economic downturn requires it. Meanwhile, the West provides the Democratic Party's greatest opportunity and represents its greatest future. National Party leaders must develop a plan to win the West in the early twenty-first century or risk settling into minority status for many years to come."

Westerners generally oppose government legislation on sexual morality, are tolerant of medical marijuana (on November 7, in an underreported sideshow to the main election, 44 percent of Nevadans voted in favor of an initiative that proposed legalizing marijuana across the board), dislike the more intrusive aspects of legislation such as the Patriot Act and tend to be less influenced by fundamentalist Baptist churches than are voters in the South. When Gallup conducted a poll last June on what noneconomic issues were of most importance to voters, 7 percent of Southerners said ethical/moral/religious decline worried them most, whereas only 3 percent of those in the coastal and interior Western states responded that way. Westerners were more preoccupied with the emerging energy crisis. In general, they are responding more to issues Democrats have made their own in recent years and are less receptive to the religious issues Republicans have hyped so effectively elsewhere in the country.

"I'm very prochoice," says Napolitano, recalling her election campaign. "I said, 'I'm not going to support any laws limiting a woman's right to choose. End of story. Move on.' We should be fighting on new ground—like healthcare. There are initiatives like the minimum wage where the Republicans have to fight on our terms rather than the other way around."

Not too long ago, it would have been hard to imagine the Republicans being successfully painted as big-government advocates by progressive Democrats touting their small-government credentials. But, as a mark of how the Bush presidency has turned things upside down, that is precisely what Western Democratic strategists are now doing.

Whereas Washington, DC, used to intervene against reactionary state policies like the poll tax and educational segregation, these days it is Washington that is proving reactionary on issues ranging from its failure to rein in carbon dioxide emissions to Congress's repeated rejection of an increase in the minimum wage, from the legislation GOP lawmakers rushed through during the morbid Terri Schiavo spectacle to vast tax giveaways to Big Oil. As important, a Republican administration that touts its conservative credentials has, over the past six years, been busily spending hundreds of billions of dollars more than it brings in each year in tax revenues, running up the largest budget deficit in American history. And increasingly, it is aggrieved politicians and voters in the states who are forming a backlash against this irresponsibility.

In a way, on social issues, Western Democrats, represented by figures like organic-farmer-cum-Senator Jon Tester, are more the party of that iconic Westerner Barry Goldwater than is the big-business- and religious-right-dominated GOP. To an increasing number of desert and mountain Westerners—including socially liberal, economically conservative Californians who have been moving inland in pursuit of cheaper land and open space—it is GOP hard-liners who threaten their way of life most, by imposing policies crafted by rigidly conservative lobbyists and kingmakers inside the Beltway or by equally uncompromising local party apparatchiks.

"The attitude to livability, attention to riverfront trails and parks, and downtown revitalization is clearly something associated with Democratic leadership," asserts Daniel Kemmis, a senior fellow at the University of Montana's Center for the Rocky Mountain West, as well as a coordinator for the organization Democrats for the West, dedicated to boosting the party's fortunes in the region, and a onetime mayor of Missoula. "Over time, the people who are moving to the West and who stay here because they like the feel of these communities, it's starting to sink in that Democrats seem to deliver more effectively on these issues than Republicans."

Hoping to capitalize on the new Electoral College calculations, Western Democrats are flexing their muscle as never before. To boost Denver's chances at hosting the party's '08 convention, the city's convention bid team, as well as Mayor John Hickenlooper—himself a transplant, with a petroleum-exploration and small-business background, from the environs of Philadelphia and then Connecticut—has proposed something unprecedented: that while the convention itself would be held in the Mile High City, the entire Rocky Mountain West would sponsor it. The convention would be billed not as a Denver affair but as a Rocky Mountain West Convention.

"I've talked to Napolitano in Arizona, Governor Richardson, [Wyoming] Governor [Dave] Freudenthal and [Montana Governor Brian] Schweitzer. Each has been very enthusiastic," says

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Hickenlooper, who recently made a splash by working with the thirty-two mayors who govern the cities of the greater Denver metropolitan area to kickstart the nation's largest public-transit expansion, 119 miles of light-rail lines throughout the urban region. "A Western convention says something. Democrats in the West have a strong sense of self-responsibility. A Western Democrat is more cautious about ceding power to Washington over our environment. We believe in local control, in the inherent value of open space. We are in many ways pro-business, trying to create opportunity for people, cutting red tape, cutting bureaucracy, making government more efficient."

Democratic politicians throughout the region have similarly come together to urge the DNC to move Western caucuses and primaries forward. Nevada will now hold a caucus sandwiched between the Iowa caucus and the New Hampshire primary, and momentum is growing in Western policy circles for the creation of a regional super-primary, to be held early in the candidate-selection process.

Daniel Kemmis believes that as many as six or seven Western states will sign up for early primaries. "There's an increased interest in the idea of a Western presidential primary, trying to coordinate many Western states and have them hold their caucuses and primaries on the same day," he says. Others are slightly more cautious. "You'd now have four Western states in play at the very start of the nominating schedule," estimates consultant Mike Stratton. "If the candidates have to come out West early and through '07 and into the nominating process of '08; if you have them traipsing out West, they're going to have to start talking Western issues: water, land, energy, conservation, quality of life. Then the balance of Western independent voters here have a reason to start looking to the Democratic Party and its nominee."

How would Gary Hart advise Howard Dean on this, as the Western strategy the Coloradan advocated as a young man finally comes of age? "Be very strong on environmental issues," he argues. "That doesn't mean give over the agenda to the Sierra Club, but to say on climate change, transportation, urban pollution issues, you've got to be very strong and lay out an agenda." Above all, he says, start speaking *with* Westerners and not *at* them. "We're still a nation of regions and mannerisms. You have to be able to put people at ease, speak in a way they understand and accept." ■

EXCHANGE
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

of hand." I plead to the first. There would have to be such a thing as nonselective quotation before I could plead innocence. An examination of Sussman's other charges should, however, dispense with his claims. He says that my statement, "Mitford clings to the notion that the Communists were the only people fighting for civil rights," is baseless. What he doesn't quote, as I did, is Mitford, speaking of the students who went South to work for civil rights, saying, "Isn't it an extraordinary advance from a few short years ago—when nobody would lift a finger except us reds?" That provides as much of a base as my conclusion could have had.

Sussman's own sleight of hand is in evidence in his attempts to weasel out of his condescending attitude toward the NAACP. In *Decca* he writes, "At the time, the NAACP was a prestigious association of largely middle-class blacks trying, with some notable successes, to overturn discriminatory laws in the Supreme Court." For amplification and support, Sussman's following line quotes Mitford's husband, Robert Treuhaft: "the NAACP was 'never involved in the day-to-day activities on the street,' fighting for the rights of individual blacks, as was the [East Bay Civil Rights Congress]." Sussman contends, "No one said in the book I edited that 'the NAACP didn't concern itself with poorer blacks.'" Then why the characterization of the membership as largely middle class? Why does he second Treuhaft's ludicrous claim that the NAACP was not fighting for "the rights of individual blacks"? What then, were they fighting for? If Sussman is *not*, as he says, belittling the impact of *Brown v. Board of Education*, possibly the most historic Supreme Court decision of the twentieth century, then why doesn't he mention it by name rather than anonymously among "some notable successes"? In *Decca* and in his letter, he presents the NAACP's work as if it were a lofty undertaking too removed to have an effect on the day-to-day lives of black Americans. That's nonsense.

Sussman falsely contends that I claim "Mitford and Treuhaft's praise of the work of the East Bay Civil Rights Congress 'deprives blacks of any agency on their own behalf.'" That's transparently false. My statement about blacks being deprived of agency is clearly made in response to Mitford's romance about Communists being the only people to aid the civil rights movement.

Sussman would like me to be reminded that "quoting from...someone's views is not the same as approving of what she says." But neither is quoting someone's views with no demurral, no expression of doubt, the same as refuting them. Sussman may well disapprove of much of what Mitford said. But his generally fawning prefaces hardly make that register. Thus, while Sussman may be a "longtime, proud member and collaborator" (collaborator?) of the ACLU, he finds nothing to object to in Mitford's claim that as a "virtually all-white" organization, the ACLU "generally turned a blind eye to the vicious, rampant discrimination against blacks." (What page, Mr. Sussman? Page 103 in the proofs.)

"When Decca makes up her mind, she *never* changes it" does indeed come from Treuhaft's letter to his mother about their marriage. Is Sussman saying I can't find examples of this in her political opinions? And while Sussman would like to claim he's merely describing, not approving, when he writes of Mitford's leaving the Communist Party "because it had become dull...boring. Rather like London's debutante circuit," that tone of dégagé amusement does little to denote disapproval. But then this quote, "Decca finally left the party, not primarily over some issue of high principle" may be the most palatable thing the poor man could come up with, given that neither Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin nor the 1956 Soviet invasion of Hungary was repugnant enough to Mitford to cause her to leave the party. As late as 1977 she was still advancing the absurd claim that the 1956 Soviet invasion prevented a fascist takeover of Hungary. And while Mitford did indeed acknowledge the rigidity of Communist ideology, as Sussman says, if she had any thoughts on the Czech uprising of 1968, the rise of Solidarity in Poland, the upheavals in Eastern Europe and the USSR in 1989, Sussman did not include them.

There may well be other sides to Jessica Mitford. They are represented neither by her two memoirs nor by the letters Sussman has chosen for *Decca*. He may not recognize my portrait of her. But in Sussman's insistence that the facts are other than the ones so clearly revealed in his book, the influence of his subject is easy to discern.

To Ms. Hatten's polite demurral, I'd just say that the long list of organizations she has belonged to or worked with, let alone credits with working toward "peace and justice," suggests she possesses a widescreen view not present in Mitford's tunnel vision. CHARLES TAYLOR

AND THE WINNER WAS...

■ In Patricia J. Williams's "Diary of a Mad Law Professor" (Dec. 25), Bill Montgomery's 2006 bid for Arizona Attorney General was *un*successful.

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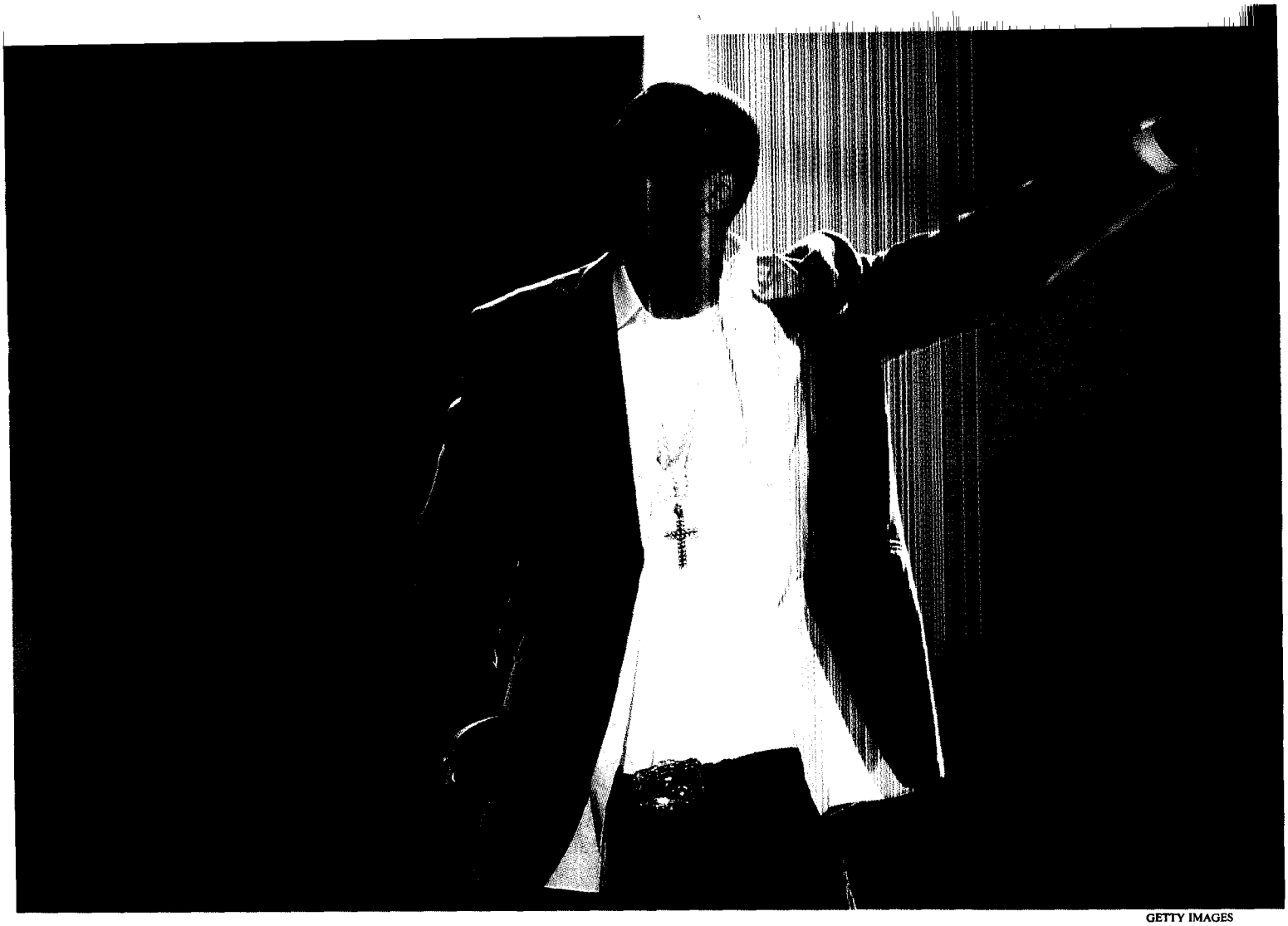

GETTY IMAGES

Moving On Up

JEFF CHANG

In 1982, the year hip-hop began to make it seem like the '60s might finally be over, oversized radios were pumping the utopian futurism of Afrika Bambaataa's "Planet Rock" and the urban neorealism of Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five's "The Message." Downtown darling Jean-Michel Basquiat, known on the New York streets as SAMO, painted a memorial to Charlie Parker that read: MOST ~~YOUNG~~ KINGS GET THIER HEAD CUT OFF. The current owner of that painting is a relatively new player in the art-world bull market named Shawn Carter, known around the world as Jay-Z.

Ten years ago, Jay-Z made his debut with the critically acclaimed album *Reasonable Doubt*, a portrait of a Bedford-Stuyvesant drug dealer on the verge of his biggest break. Impossibly cool on the surface, his hustler persona was unmistakably desperate at the core. The album was powerfully encapsulated by one of its track titles—a credo that doubled as a refrain, as simple as it was haunting: "Can I live?"

The question seemed particularly timely. Within a year of *Reasonable Doubt*'s release, two rap kings met bloody ends: Tupac Shakur was murdered in Las Vegas, and Shakur's rival and Jay-Z's close friend The Notorious B.I.G. was gunned down in Los Angeles. But hip-hop's restless competitive ethos abhors a vacuum at the top, so Jay-Z stepped up and seized the rap crown. During his reign, he underwent a transformation from street hustler to high-end brand name, helping found what advertisers now call the "urban aspirational" market.

Three years ago, having reached what he thought was the limit of his rap powers, he

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Jeff Chang is the editor of the anthology Total Chaos: The Art and Aesthetics of Hip-Hop *and author of* Can't Stop, Won't Stop: A History of the Hip-Hop Generation. *He is a former editor of* ColorLines *magazine.*

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retired on top, like Michael Jordan after his Jazz-killing jumper, with a fine, revealing record, *The Black Album*. He was burying his rap persona, or at least he said he was. In the summer of 2005, Carter's 18-year-old nephew was killed in an auto accident, driving the Chrysler 300 that had been a graduation present. Who can say how much death has figured in Jay-Z's rise and return? Perhaps living means never quitting.

In 2004 he was named CEO of rap's most storied label, Def Jam, the same one he helped rebuild as a hungry artist. (The deal included the chance to repossess his master recordings, a rare contractual clause rife with racial symbolism.) A tastemaker nonpareil, he started wearing button-downs and Evisu jeans, and urbanwear felt the shock waves. When, having learned of Roederer Cristal's distaste for its urban customers, he stopped drinking the $200 bottles of champagne, thousands joined his boycott. He is the most famous co-owner of the New Jersey Nets and has supported a controversial proposal to move the team to his beloved Brooklyn, a project that has already unleashed rampant real estate speculation.

It wasn't much of a retirement. Before long he was guest-starring on countless recordings and launching high-profile shows and tours. Not even a growing beef with disaffected Roc-A-Fella rapper Cam'ron and his crewmate Jim Jones could slow Jay-Z's hustle. His hobnobbing with champagniers in France or with Gwyneth and Chris in London, as well as requisite outings with his glamorous girlfriend Beyoncé Knowles, became gossip-column fodder. As Brooklyn's answer to Bono, he held court with Kofi Annan and Nelson Mandela and traveled to Tanzania and Nigeria to shoot an MTV documentary on the global water crisis. He could have rested on such clout. But he decided he wasn't ready not to risk his neck anymore.

In November he roared out of rap retirement with *Kingdom Come*. The record is strangely disengaged and absolutely disposable. But its release has occasioned a dazzling display of brand leveraging. In a photo spread for a fawning *GQ* Man of the Year cover story, Jay-Z threw up a Black Power fist while dressed in a Club Monaco cardigan, a Purple Label button-down and his own Rocawear sweats. The man who used to show off a Che Guevara shirt, his ice chain covering the red star on that famous beret, had repackaged hip-hop's rebellion into a symbol of the postmulticulturalist good life.

As Budweiser Select's "co-brand director," he appeared in a commercial with NASCAR drivers Danica Patrick and Dale Earnhardt Jr. to announce *Kingdom Come*'s release date during Monday Night Football and the National League championship series. (By comparison, former mentor Sean "P. Diddy" Combs launched his new album with a Burger King–sponsored video on YouTube.) On an HP commercial, Jay-Z outlined a typical executive day with his usual bravado, commenting on an online chess move he had just made: "This game is over. I wonder if he knows."

While white hipsters heard the chimes of freedom in hip-hop, rappers were more likely to talk champagne, caviar and bubble baths.

Jay-Z himself fueled the engines of this monopoly mediascape. When the album leaked onto the Internet, he countered with free previews of *Kingdom Come* on 220 Clear Channel stations. Then he got in the charter jet for a twenty-four-hour, seven-city tour blitz. Captured online and on TV almost in real time, this act of twenty-first-century omnipresence seemed to spin his hilarious evangelical-baiting, God-complex nickname, J-Hova, into something else. The world was his witness.

On November 28, near the end of another year of plunging record sales, Jay-Z made good on his claim to being "hip-hop's savior." *Kingdom Come* became his ninth No. 1 album, tying him with the Rolling Stones in chart toppers and making him the most successful rapper of all time. Its first-week sales of 680,000 copies made it one of the biggest pop blockbusters of the year. By any measure, Jay-Z has accomplished his goal: He is the black face of the new establishment.

But wasn't hip-hop supposed to be the new counterculture? It certainly felt that way in the late 1970s and early '80s, when the movement was led by politically abandoned youths of color like DJ Kool Herc, Afrika Bambaataa and Grandmaster Flash. The culture's first institution, Bambaataa's Universal Zulu Nation, was inspired by black radical ideologies and presented itself partly as an alternative to gang warfare.

While pundits dismissed the culture as a youth fad, the ecstatic encounter between hip-hop's adherents and downtown's avant-garde in the morning of Reagan's America produced genuine excitement. Young hip-hop heads found open doors to formerly exclusive circles. White urban hipsters saw poor youths of color as bleeding-edge prophets of social rebellion and aesthetic iconoclasm, raw voices of truth and freedom. (Such ferment had not been felt since John Sinclair and the White Panthers were inspired by free jazz and the Black Panthers to talk dope, rock and roll, and fucking in the streets.)

Of course, first-generation rappers had always been more likely to talk champagne, caviar and bubble baths—to drop brand names rather than reality raps. In 1982, while "The Message" captivated downtowners, uptown DJs were snapping the records over their knees and throwing them away. Many hip-hop heads didn't have any romanticized notions about living close to the edge.

In the mid-'80s, hip-hop's first crossover fired the imaginations of kids from Coxsackie to Cairo. As they grew older, many of them came to believe that diversity could triumph over American monoculturalism. By the end of the decade, they were moving both musically and politically with confidence and urgency, determined to blast away rock orthodoxy and racism with word, sound and style.

Then they won. Unlike Parker and his fellow beboppers, who often felt like exiles in their own country, hip-hop entrepreneurs like Russell Simmons, Combs and, later, Carter rode a wave of demand and brought hip-hop into the mainstream. When rock counterculture became the dominant pop culture, most musicians or managers didn't become brand stars. But in the postindustrial economy, Simmons, Combs and Carter embodied—in the clothes they wore, the consumer goods they endorsed, even the political causes they championed—a hip-hop lifestyle.

Simmons and Combs grew up in black inner-ring suburbs enamored with the style of the kids from the other side of the tracks, but Carter was one of those kids. He came from the Marcy Houses, the projects in Bedford-Stuyvesant once overtaken by drug gangs. As Jay-Z, he wrote songs about cocaine, but these were not tales of rock-star high times, à la J.J. Cale and Eric Clapton. They were often harrowing stories of wise-beyond-their-years teen dealers who had to "learn to live with regrets." He and fellow New York rappers Nas and The Notorious B.I.G. borrowed from West Coast "gangsta rap" the figure of the hustler, but they focused on the low end of the hierarchy, on the kid who could be found "grinding" on the corner day to day—always rest-

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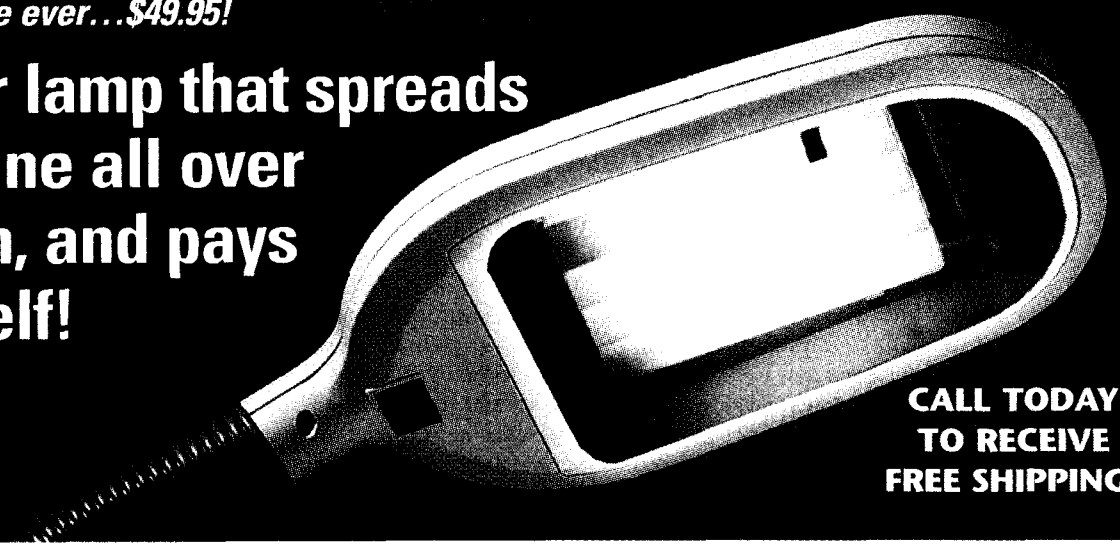

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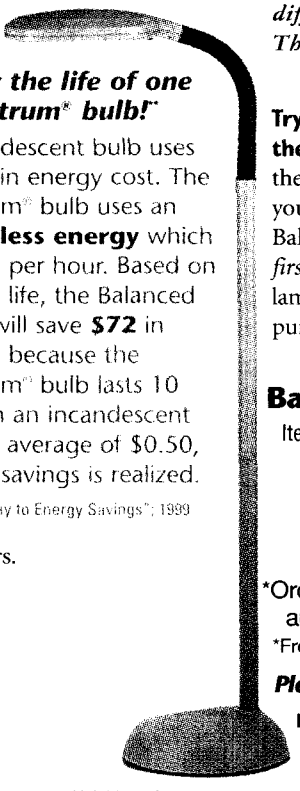

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less, always endangered, hoping to outwit cops, murderous rivals and turncoat allies to rise above the scrum. Release came in classically American displays of conspicuous consumption—bawdy, garish, often sexist—the line connecting music-video bling to Tony Soprano's bada-bing.

By the time Jay-Z released *Reasonable Doubt* in 1996, President Clinton had been elected to a second term, and his promises of post–LA riot change had given way to legislation that brought massive prison growth, the "end of welfare as we know it," the rise of workfare and corporate globalization. It's no coincidence that "Politics as Usual," the title of one track, was New York City slang for the drug game. On "Where I'm From," off *In My Lifetime* (1997), he rapped, "Government? Fuck government. Niggas politic themselves."

Jay-Z met the economic expansion of the 1990s—unleashed by corporate consolidation and free-market globalization—by making his pop slicker, dabbling in world-pop sounds and creating bigger, more seductive fantasies of success. (About this time, a group of rappers from the housing projects of New Orleans called the Cash Money Millionaires introduced the word "bling" into the lexicon.) Yet he also used civil rights imagery to buttress his self-mythology. No longer claiming to represent merely the Marcy Houses but also "the seat where Rosa Parks sat, where Malcolm X was shot, where Martin Luther was popped," he even called himself "the soul of Mumia." With these comparisons, Jay-Z not only flattered hip-hop's sense of itself as an insurgent culture but claimed—with typical braggadocio—a place for himself alongside icons of the black freedom struggle. Clearly there was much more behind the game face he was showing.

Corporate media's massive economies of scale favor a drastically limited scope of rap archetypes that, not coincidentally, traffic primarily in stereotypes of black sexuality and criminality. Labels make fewer signings, so there are fewer "types" to represent. Furthermore, those signings tend to fill old boxes: the party girl in furs and stiletto heels, the gunslinger at odds with rivals and cops, the crack dealer on the corner. Jay-Z admitted as much on *The Black Album*, a record that led one of his shrewdest observers, Elizabeth Mendez Berry, to call him a "confidence artist." But he claimed simply to be giving the people what they wanted: "I've dumbed down for my audience and doubled my dollars," he said on "Moment of Clarity." "They criticize me for it, yet they all yell, 'Holla!'"

So *Kingdom Come* finds Jay-Z struggling to figure out, as he asked on *The Black Album*, what more he can say. Gone are the drug dealer stories. The hustler is no longer on the corner. In a dedication to his old jailed friends, beautifully sung by John Legend, called "Do U Wanna Ride?" the mention of coke is product placement for the cola, not just the illegal product cut and cooked with baking soda.

On the record's emotional set piece, "Lost One," Jay-Z's trademark flow fails him, and he stumbles badly. When he disses and dissects his former Roc-A-Fella partners in the first verse, he rides the rhythm easily. But over the next two verses—about problems in his relationship with Beyoncé and about his deceased nephew—he sounds tongue-tied. It's a clue that this restless hustler is no good at endings.

Jay-Z sounds most comfortable rapping over bombastic tracks by Just Blaze, a young New Jersey producer with a gift for taking familiar beats and classic hip-hop breaks and flipping them into arena-sized anthems. But hip-hop's most artistically expressive tension comes from the underdog's striving to become top dog. As a cocky teen, Def Jam's first star, LL Cool J, once said, "Even when I'm bragging, I'm being sincere." But CEO Jay-Z is now a 37-year-old, straining for relevance with a new refrain, "30 is the new 20." Heard over a bench-warmer beat by the 41-year-old Dr. Dre on "30 Something," it's the least convincing line he's ever uttered. When he boasts about collecting passport stamps, working stock portfolios and buying Birkin bags for Beyoncé, he is no longer endearing. The man who once apotheosized "urban aspiration" is beyond reach.

If Jay-Z's art is no longer influential, his influence on the art is more pervasive than ever. His bold signings at Def Jam—from teen idol Rihanna to lyrical hero Ghostface Killah to sophisticated soulster Ne-Yo—might prove that the hip-hop market encompasses a wider demographic than anyone else in the industry imagines. And as Jay-Z has moved from the corner to the boardroom, a significant group of new generation artists—including his Def Jam signings Rick Ross and Young Jeezy—continue to mine the territory he opened with *Reasonable Doubt*, a genre many now refer to as "crack rap." The second-biggest hip-hop release this year was by Atlanta's T.I., a former drug dealer turned movie idol who has reworked Jay-Z's late-'90s mix of crack and bling into platinum status. One of the most acclaimed releases this winter was by a Virginia-based pair of ex-dealers called the Clipse, whose 2002 hit "Grindin'" ushered in crack rap's return.

Unlike the business metaphors ("Rap Game/Crack Game" was one of Jay-Z's most popular songs) and *Scarface*-like heights and depths of the crack rap of the '90s bubble economy, most narratives now start with kitchen-scale claustrophobia. Lyrics fuss over the details of "the work"—the drop, the baking, the setup, the sale, the re-up—because everything after that is idleness and fear and justification. Backed by sci-fi textures, the Clipse offer dystopian futurism like writer Richard Morgan, while Young Jeezy's lushly orchestrated tracks infuse its tiny world with romantic grandeur. It's the sound of lowered expectations straining to be shockingly new, or simply noble.

Crack rap's resurgence is not a case of, to use a rap cliché, "street journalism." In many cities, heroin tops have supplanted crack rocks as the scourge of choice. And although there has been an alarming rise in urban gun homicides across the country, some evidence suggests that the numbers do not signal a repeat of the '80s drug wars. Hip-hop journalist Kris Ex has written that crack rap is now primarily a matter of "style and design." This music, which is being pushed by global corporate conglomerates, sells a myth of street life that makes crack production a metaphor for the new economy.

Amid war, post-Katrina unrest and, especially, expanding joblessness, the small-time hustlers of crack rap provide a strange kind of comfort. In a "free-agent nation" where fortysomethings routinely find themselves pink-slip obsolescent and twenty-somethings are encouraged to prepare themselves for an insecure occupational future by becoming their own brands, perhaps crack rappers—whose desire for the good life is matched by the insecure certainty of the kitchen-and-corner struggle—have become the new countercultural heroes. Of course, this counterculture too comes with its illusions. Kris Ex reminds us of "the thirteen-year-old spotter caught up in a turf war, the five-year-old girl that takes a stray bullet.... Every real crack rock that is sold, is sold to a real person." The tragedies of crack rap are the stories never told, the fallen bodies never counted.

When Basquiat died, his friend Keith Haring painted a memorial featuring a pyramid-shaped heap of tumbled crowns, a graveyard of kings. For now, Jay-Z has avoided this fate. But if he can't be trusted when he says that "30 is the new 20," it may be because we know his neck will still be well protected when he turns 40 in a few years. ■

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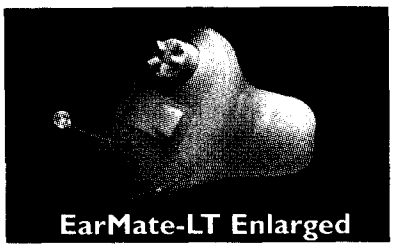

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Hurricane Carter

HENRY SIEGMAN

PALESTINE PEACE NOT APARTHEID. By Jimmy Carter. Simon & Schuster. 264 pp. $27.

Former President Jimmy Carter's new book, *Palestine Peace Not Apartheid*, provoked an uproar even before its publication. The reason for the controversy was the book's title more than its content, for it seemed to suggest that the avatar of democracy in the Middle East may be on its way to creating a political order that resembles South Africa's apartheid model of discrimination and repression, albeit on ethnic-religious rather than racial grounds.

Since the appearance of the book coincided with the recent Congressional elections, leaders of the Democratic Party went into near panic and fell over one another disassociating themselves from Carter's book and his criticisms of certain Israeli policies. Indeed, the panic was so intense that so independent-minded a man as Howard Dean, chair of the party, who in the past has had the courage to challenge the conventional wisdom of the party's establishment on a whole range of issues, joined the herd as well.

None of this, of course, is in the least surprising. In the face of overwhelming international criticism of President Bush for his failure to engage in the Middle East peace process and for his unbalanced support of Israel, the Democratic Party's Congressional leadership has managed to criticize Bush for being too soft on the Palestinians and not sufficiently supportive of Israel. So the criticism of President Carter is noteworthy only for what it reveals about the ignorance of the American political establishment, both Democrat and Republican, on the subject of the Israel-Palestine conflict.

I would challenge the incoming Democratic chair of the House International Relations Committee, Tom Lantos (not to mention the outgoing chair, Henry Hyde), to identify the author of the following comment, made at the time when Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir was about to bring Rehavam Ze'evi, head of Israel's Moledet Party, into his Cabinet. Ze'evi and his party were advocates of "transfer," a euphemism for the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians in the West Bank and in other parts of "Greater Israel":

> The transfer party's joining the government is a profound political, moral and social stain, a dangerous infection penetrating [Israel's] government. Anyone who includes the transfer [party] among the Zionist parties of the coalition is in effect confirming the UN Resolution that says Zionism is racism.

Had an American made such a statement, he would unquestionably have been accused of hostility to the State of Israel, if not anti-Semitism. If the person had been Jewish, he would have been branded a self-hating Jew.

In fact, the author of this statement was Benny Begin, the right-wing son of former Prime Minister Menachem Begin, a Likud "prince" who relentlessly attacked the Labor Party for recognizing the PLO, which he insisted, even after Oslo, was nothing more than a terrorist organization. And the man who was described at the time in the *Jerusalem Post* as "the most vociferous among the cabinet ministers opposing the appointment, saying it was inconceivable that a man with Ze'evi's ideology should serve as a minister," was none other than Ehud Olmert, another Likud prince.

When Olmert, as deputy prime minister in Ariel Sharon's government, proposed that Israel withdraw unilaterally from Gaza and parts of the West Bank, his justification was that given Palestinian demographics, a continuation of the occupation would sooner or later turn Israeli Jews into a minority. He warned that the Jewish State would then find itself under attack from American Jewish organizations that boycotted South Africa's apartheid regime.

Several months ago, the same Olmert who worried publicly about the stigma of apartheid appointed Avigdor Lieberman, a man of racist and antidemocratic convictions, as his deputy prime minister. Lieberman, who heads a right-wing party of mostly Russian immigrants, Yisrael Beiteinu, holds political views that would have made Rehavam Ze'evi sound like a charter member of the ACLU. Neither Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of France's anti-immigrant National Front, nor Austria's neofascist Jörg Haider (whose role in forming an Austrian government provoked international outrage that led to a diplomatic boycott), has called for measures as outrageous as Lieberman. Lieberman advocates not only the ethnic cleansing of all Palestinians from the occupied territories but getting rid of Arabs who are Israeli citizens. He has urged that Arab members of Israel's Knesset be executed for having contacts with Hamas or for failing to celebrate Israel's Independence Day.

Lieberman was also appointed by Olmert as the minister in charge of responding to "strategic threats" to Israel. If Israel does indeed face an existential threat from Iran—and listening to Iran's Ahmadinejad's rantings at an obscene event he orchestrated in Tehran for Holocaust deniers, it is difficult not to take the threat seriously—it is hard to imagine a more effective way of trivializing that threat than with the appointment of Lieberman. Indeed, the decision is so reckless as to suggest it is Olmert and his government—including his Labor Party partners, who overwhelmingly approved Lieberman's appointment—who pose the existential threat to their country.

The appointment also raises the question of how a government whose deputy prime minister is a man who does not recognize the right of Palestinians to even one square inch of territory in Palestine can impose draconian sanctions on a Hamas government that will not recognize Israel's legitimacy. Talk about double standards!

Not the least of the ironies of the controversy generated by Carter's book, or by its title, is that on any day of the week, there appear in virtually all major Israeli newspapers and in its other media far more extreme criticisms of the policies of various Israeli governments than one finds anywhere in the United States. Most of Israel's adversarial editorializing would not be accepted in the op-ed pages of America's leading newspapers.

It is also worth noting how uninformed Democratic and Republican mavens are even about the voting patterns of American Jews. The panic aroused by Carter's book title was based on the belief of these mavens that American Jews share the hard-line right-wing views of organizations like the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations and AIPAC, or-

Henry Siegman, a former national director of the American Jewish Congress, is director of the US/Middle East Project and a visiting professor in the Sir Joseph Hotung Middle East Program at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

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ganizations that would go out of business if Israelis elected a government committed to a political solution rather than a military one. Indeed, when former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin came into office in 1992 and concluded that Israel's security would be far better served by a peace agreement that recognizes Palestinian rights than by beating the Palestinians into submission, both the Conference of Presidents and AIPAC went into institutional eclipse, from which they did not emerge until Benjamin Netanyahu came to power in 1996.

The uncritical pro-Israel advocacy of these organizations has never been an accurate barometer of the political thinking or behavior of American Jews. Surely there is something Republican and Democratic leaders can learn from the fact that after six years of the presidency of the man believed by Israelis and by the pro-Israel lobby in the United States to be "the best American president Israel ever had," 87 percent of American Jews voted for the Democratic Party, whose chair is seen by the pro-Israel lobby as untrustworthy at best.

To be sure, the overwhelming majority of American Jews care deeply about Israel's security and well-being. But that concern does not translate for most of them into mindless support for the policies of Israeli governments that seem to undermine Israel's security. Most American Jews understand how recklessly both Democratic and Republican politicians manipulate the Israel-Palestine issue to their own advantage, just as most Israelis understand the same about many of their own politicians.

Carter's book recapitulates the crucial role he played as convener of the Camp David summit meeting in 1978, which resulted in the landmark peace agreement between Israel and Egypt. His description of the two fascinating protagonists, Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat, makes for compelling reading no matter how familiar the story's general outline.

When President Sadat met Carter at the White House not long after Carter assumed the presidency in 1977, Carter was surprised by how "well developed" Sadat's determination to work with him on peace negotiations with Israel already was. Even more surprising was a letter Carter received from Sadat following this meeting, in which he urged that the President not do anything that would interfere with Sadat's determination to negotiate directly with the Israelis—in dramatic contrast to Sadat's fellow Arab leaders, for whom any contact with Israel, however indirect, was anathema.

Equally surprising was Carter's impression of Begin when the two first met in Washington. He found Begin to be a man of far less rigid views than widely believed to be the case, and open to the ideas Carter had discussed with Sadat.

The optimism sparked by these initial encounters, which were dramatically reinforced by Sadat's precedent-shattering visit to Jerusalem—a display of extraordinary political courage for which Sadat was soon to pay with his life—was seriously undermined by his deep disillusionment with Begin's return visit to Egypt, at which time Begin insisted that Israeli settlements remain in the Sinai. Sadat saw his conversations with Begin as a fatal setback to his peace initiative and planned to publicly condemn Begin as a betrayer of the peace process in a speech he had scheduled to deliver in the United States. He was persuaded to drop that idea only after intense efforts by Carter. The Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty was intended to bring about not only an end to the conflict between Israel and Egypt but a process that would grant autonomy—or "full autonomy," a term Begin oddly insisted on—to Palestinians, something the treaty did not deliver.

Ironically, Carter has been vilified for saying things about the occupation that appear regularly in almost all major Israeli newspapers.

Under the terms of the Camp David agreement, Israel and the Egyptians established a joint committee to implement the treaty's provisions that dealt with Palestinian national rights and the creation of a self-governing Palestinian authority. Both Moshe Dayan and Ezer Weizman represented Israel on this committee, and both resigned when they realized that Begin was not serious about implementing those provisions. Begin replaced them with a more trustworthy member of his Cabinet, Dr. Joseph Burg, a venerable leader of the Mizrahi, the religious Zionist organization (and father of Abraham Burg, a former head of the Jewish Agency and Speaker of the Knesset).

The older Burg was a close friend of my family, and I often visited him when I was in Israel. I once saw him while he served on this joint Egyptian-Israeli committee and asked him what progress was being made. Burg, who was a marvelous raconteur, answered with a story. There is an old Jewish tale about a prince who asked a poor and simple Jew in the Pale of Settlement to teach his dog to speak and threatened to expel the Jews who lived within his princely domain if this Jew failed to do so within a year. When the Jew came home with the prince's dog and explained to his startled wife what had happened, she became hysterical. Her husband calmed her by saying that he had an entire year before the prince returned, and that by then "either the prince will die or the dog will die."

I told Burg I knew the story. "Then let me tell you the sequel," Burg said, which he had obviously made up himself. The prince returned a year later and summoned the Jew, who showed up without the dog. The prince angrily demanded that the Jew produce the dog immediately, but the Jew pleaded with the prince to allow him to explain the situation. He assured the prince that the dog had indeed learned to speak, but that once he did, the dog began telling embarrassing stories. "What kind of stories?" asked the alarmed prince. "Stories about where you regularly took him at night when you told your wife you were taking the dog for a long walk." The prince went into a panic and ordered the Jew to produce the dog immediately so that he could shoot him. "Don't worry," said the Jew. "I already did it for you, dear prince."

That, said Burg, is what has happened with the Israeli-Egyptian talks on Palestinian autonomy. We shot the dog.

Carter places the blame for Israel's failure to implement the provisions of the Camp David agreement for "full Palestinian autonomy" squarely on Begin because of his violation of a promise to freeze further settlement activity. Carter blames himself for not having obtained Begin's promise in writing, and sees that as "the most serious omission of the Camp David talks." In Carter's view, Begin saw the peace treaty with Egypt as providing him "renewed freedom to pursue the goals of a fervent and dedicated minority of [Israel's] citizens to confiscate, settle and fortify the occupied territories."

The destructive impact of Israel's continued confiscation of Palestinian land for its ever-expanding settlements on all subsequent efforts to end this conflict, and of the draconian regime imposed by Israel's army on the occupied territories—which today include well over 500 Israeli military checkpoints and hundreds of other physical obstacles that have utterly shattered Palestinian life—is the thread that runs through the various chapters in Carter's book, in which he reviews the Oslo agreement, the Camp David summit in 2000 and

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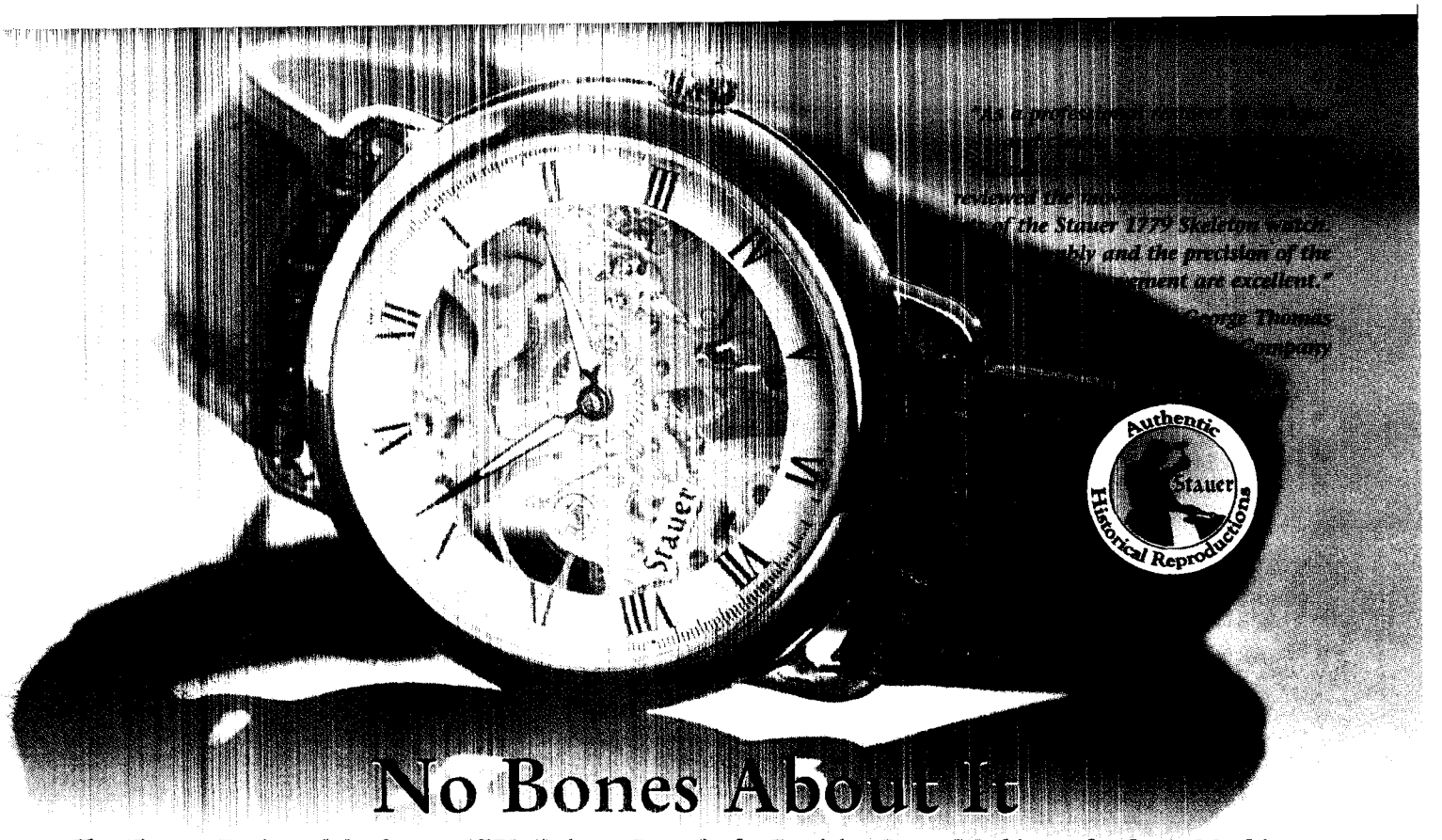

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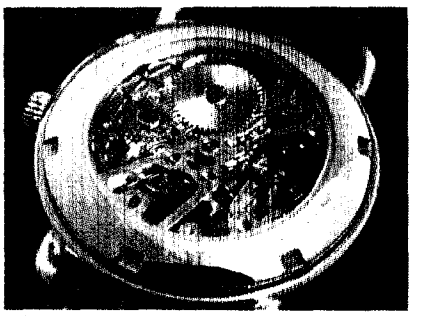

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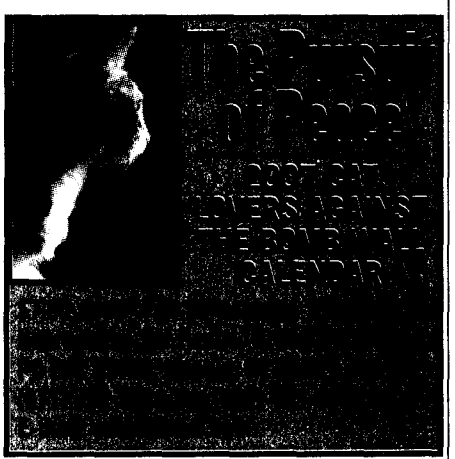

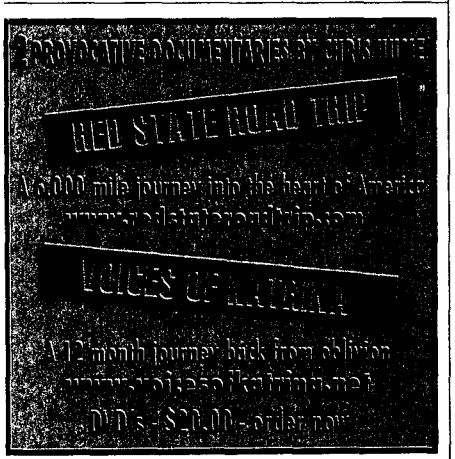

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Clinton's peace proposals, the road map, the Geneva Accord of 2003 and Sharon's unilateral disengagement from Gaza, as well as the legislative elections won by Hamas, the war in Lebanon and the deteriorating situation in Gaza.

The recent cease-fire announced by Mahmoud Abbas and Ehud Olmert, and the conciliatory tone—if not the unremarkable content—of Olmert's latest speech in Sde Boker, led some to believe that a breakthrough in the long-stalled peace process was imminent. But these hopes were quickly dashed by Olmert's rejection of the Iraq Study Group's recommendation that President Bush re-engage vigorously in the Israel-Palestine peace process, not only to put an end to one of the world's longest-lasting conflicts but also because an Israeli-Palestinian agreement could significantly improve America's standing in the region and the ability of friendly Arab states to assist it in extricating itself from the Iraqi quagmire.

That a serious engagement in peacemaking by an American President who has been embarrassingly one-sided in his support of Israel's government would so frighten Olmert and his Cabinet tells us all we need to know about the sincerity of his search for a Palestinian peace partner. The avoidance of a bilateral process in order to set Israel's boundaries unilaterally has been the strategic objective of both Sharon's Likud government and now of Olmert's Kadima-Labor coalition government. It is a strategic goal that apparently remains unchanged despite Olmert's repeated promises to meet with Mahmoud Abbas, a meeting for which he had not been able to clear his calendar for almost a year. That meeting has finally taken place. Not surprisingly, Olmert used it to announce some limited humanitarian gestures and financial assistance to help strengthen Abbas's security forces in their confrontation with Hamas's forces. Olmert's own foreign minister, Tzipi Livni, noted dryly that these gestures (none of which have been implemented as of this writing) did nothing to bring a peace process any closer.

Indeed, whatever little good Olmert's gestures might have done was undone within forty-eight hours of the meeting, when Israel's government announced it had authorized the establishment of a new settlement in the Jordan Valley, well outside the so-called security fence it is building. And if that were not enough to discredit Abbas and vindicate Hamas, it was also revealed that various Israeli governmental ministries secretly collaborated in the construction of permanent new housing in illegal outposts that Olmert (and previously Sharon) had promised the United States would be dismantled.

Carter's harsh condemnation of Israeli policies in the occupied territories is not the consequence of ideology or of an anti-Israel bias. He expresses deep admiration for the Israeli people and their remarkable achievements and empathy for the suffering they have endured as a result of Palestinian suicide bombings, and warns Palestinians that terrorism is discrediting their national cause. Carter repeatedly cites three conditions that he believes are necessary for a resumption of the peace process and a resolution of the conflict, of which the first is guarantees for Israel's security, the second a complete end to Palestinian violence and terrorism, and the third recognition by Israel of the Palestinian right to statehood within pre-1967 borders.

But Carter is equally empathetic to the suffering of the Palestinian people under occupation, which he has seen firsthand during his many visits there. For most Westerners, including most Israelis, the Palestinian ordeal is invisible and might as well be taking place on the far side of the moon for all they know or seem to care about it.

Accusations by Alan Dershowitz and others that Carter is indifferent to Israel's security only prove that no good deed goes unpunished. Arguably, the single most important contribution to Israel's security by far was the removal of Egypt—possessing the most powerful of the military forces in the Arab world—from the Arab axis that was intent on the destruction of the State of Israel in its early years. Egypt's peace agreement with Israel permanently removed the possibility of such a combined Arab assault against the Jewish State, something for which the late Syrian president Hafez Assad could not get himself to forgive Sadat, even after he was assassinated.

Assad's bitterness over Sadat's "betrayal" was a major theme of a four-hour meeting I had with him in 1994. He cited it as the reason he would not meet with Rabin or engage in other confidence-building measures that would help dispose Israelis to support the return of the Golan Heights, something I had urged him to do. He insisted that any concessions before an agreement is fully signed would be seen by the Syrian people as a repeat of Sadat's betrayal.

Carter's book provides an important reminder that the Camp David agreement not only created a durable peace between Egypt and Israel but served as a model for

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all of the major Israeli-Palestinian peace initiatives that were to follow. Oslo's concepts of a self-governing Palestinian Authority, of a five-year process that concludes with agreements on permanent-status issues, of negotiations on such issues that begin no later than in the third year of the agreement and of an armed Palestinian police force to maintain order are all spelled out in the Camp David agreement. And the outline of what an Israeli-Palestinian settlement would have to look like if an agreement is to be reached is also adumbrated in the Camp David accords of 1978, which included Begin's acceptance of Egypt's insistence on the return of all Egyptian territory held by Israel. The magnitude of that accomplishment places the pettiness of the critics of President Carter and his latest book in proper perspective. ■

The General in his Labyrinth

STUART KLAWANS

PAN'S LABYRINTH • LETTERS FROM IWO JIMA

Imagine your bad, false father as a giant toad, lazy and arrogant, that squats in the mucky depths of a dead tree, fattening on foot-long bugs. Or imagine this same monstrous father as something closer to human but faceless, hairless, sexless and naked, with dead-white skin hanging in folds. This sluggish, forked biped slumbers before the fire in a subterranean banquet hall, oblivious to the rich décor or the magnificent feast spread on the table. It wants to eat *you*, little girl, and comes at you when roused with eyeballs fixed in the palms of its hands. To see, for this thing, is to grab and kill.

Now think of a fully human stepfather: a fascist military officer serving in Franco's victorious army. The gloomy lair of this Captain Vidal is an old mill, set in the woods and mountains where he has been sent to hunt a few remaining partisans. Your widowed mother has married this man—why, you can't understand—and so you must either live under his power or else, like the partisans, find a way to rebel. But Vidal is harder to vanquish than a giant toad, harder to elude than a cannibal slug. He, too, sees only to grab and kill, but he doesn't hunger for you. He wants to consume your mother, by pulling a baby son from her womb.

If I write that you must undergo this trial—you, rather than young Ofelia, the heroine with the rosy face and unpromising name—it's because the magic that many films promise actually works in *Pan's Labyrinth*. Beginning with the dizzyingly hypnotic opening shot—or, even before there's an image, with the evocative sounds of the wind stirring, a lullaby sighing, a child gasping for breath—writer-director Guillermo del Toro succeeds in submerging you in Ofelia's memory and imagination, where grown-up threats and struggles turn into fairy tales.

Gliding through the woods at night, del Toro's camera discovers Ofelia lying on the ground, then tilts and comes closer as if it were an intelligent winged creature, curious and sympathetic. It approaches her bloodied face. Then it plunges into one of her eyes—the first of many eyes in this movie—and so into the volumes of her mind, which pulse with firelight and shadows. The interior of this child's skull is part puppet stage and part Piranesi engraving, reverberating with a basso narrator's fable about a princess who lived in a kingdom underground, and who ventured fatally into the world above. The camera rises on cue through a domed stair hall, toward an oculus that blazes with light. By the time a flash blanks out the screen, allowing the shot to continue (without seeming interruption) into a forest scene, the camera has you magnetized. You are going to be drawn along on all of Ofelia's adventures—but despite appearances, you have not been drawn entirely outside her thoughts. This daylit forest, too, lies partly within the maze of the little girl's consciousness.

Moviegoers who are just catching up with del Toro should know that this is not the first time he has told a story of the Spanish Civil War, or put a child's thoughts at the center of his movie. He did both in a 2001 release, *The Devil's Backbone*; and if you want to go even further back in his career,

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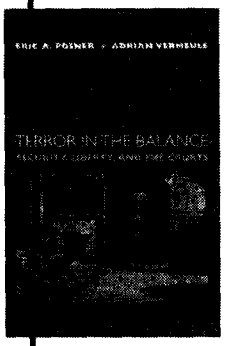

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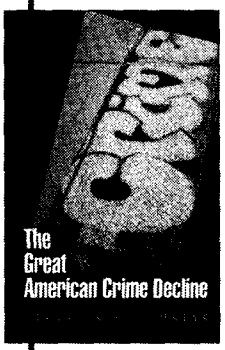

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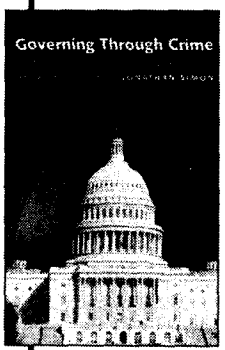

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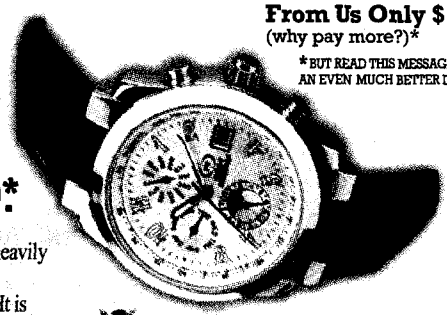

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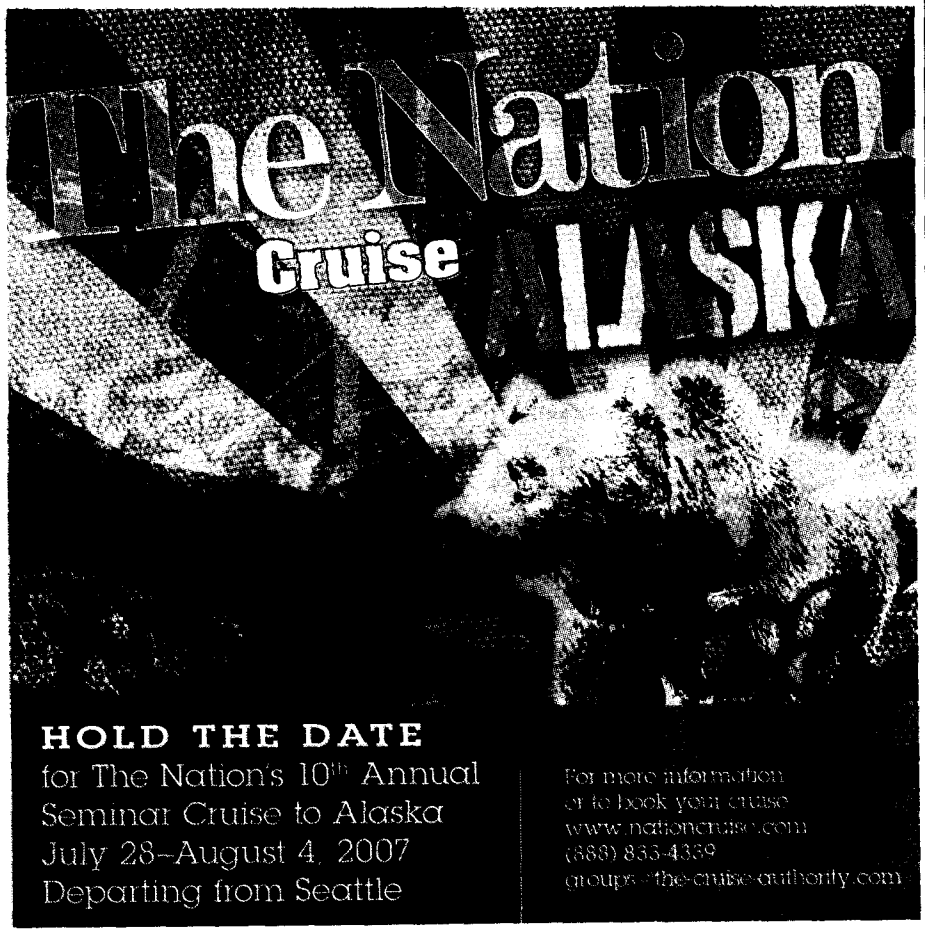

into his ostensibly pure genre movies, you might note that his insect-fear masterpiece, *Mimic*, is at heart concerned with the world of an autistic boy. In *Pan's Labyrinth*, you may note the recurrence from these earlier pictures of favorite del Toro motifs: the intervention of a large, clacking insect, for example, which welcomes Ofelia to the woods and guides her through the movie, or the great importance that Captain Vidal assigns to chronology. (Not only does he devote himself obsessively to a cracked pocket watch; he dwells in a room dominated by the mill's old wooden wheel, as if he were living inside the mechanism of an enormous timepiece.) If these deliberate recyclings are evidence in del Toro of a heightened auteurist self-regard, then I say he's earned it. Everything he's done to date reaches a new stage of maturity, beauty and depth of feeling in *Pan's Labyrinth*.

I can credit much of the film's impact to Guillermo Navarro's cinematography, whose storybook palette is rich enough to encompass everything from the deep violets of a nocturnal scene to the soft, fluttering white of seeds drifting through shafts of sunlight. Thanks to Navarro, the images are more than clear and more than tactile. You can almost smell them: the worn stone of a Celtic carving, the smoke of the partisans' abandoned campfire, the blood that trickles over a tongue or (most of all) the moist odor of dirt and leaves clinging to Pan, the towering, obsequious yet not quite trustworthy faun who appears to Ofelia and instructs her on what she must do.

All this is compelling, but the deepest power of *Pan's Labyrinth* lies in the actress playing Ofelia: 12-year-old Ivana Baquero. One of the challenges of her role is that she gets to assert herself only with characters who aren't really there. These are the film's various computer-generated critters, plus the faun (who is a creation of actor Doug Jones, a hidden puppeteer and a ton of makeup). Baquero's scenes with live actors, though, require her to be almost exclusively reactive. In a moon-besotted movie that continually contrasts the true time of the lunar cycle with the false time of clocks, she is herself a kind of satellite, reflecting the light of stars. And what stars: Sergi López at his coldest, most brutal and slicked-back as Vidal; Ariadna Gil as Ofelia's drooping flower of a mother, clinging tenderly to a final hope; Maribel Verdú (Mercedes) as Vidal's sunken-cheeked housekeeper, whose head is bowed, whose eyes are lowered, whose voice is an acquiescent murmur, until suddenly they're not. You might think that Baquero would fade compared with these presences; but through sheer at-

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tentiveness (which is to say, the talent of a born actress to forget herself) she shines as much as anyone.

What is it, though, that shines through *Pan's Labyrinth* as a whole? I'd say it's the power of imagination—not imagination as Vidal misunderstands it, as a capacity for soothing self-delusion, but as the will to say no. Ofelia has the imagination to ask questions and disobey. Vidal, who knows how to be fanciful only with a straight razor, fails to imagine that someone—a woman, even—might find the strength to disrupt his monstrous order.

I don't know how you will value the imagination of *Pan's Labyrinth* against the quasi-documentary realism of the only film I know as a touchstone, Victor Erice's great *The Spirit of the Beehive*. It's a question of the season, I suppose. There is a clear, wintry light to Erice's film (which also concerns a fugitive hiding in the Spanish countryside and a child's dreams of wonder)—an observational style and dramatic irony that may suit the chillier times in your life, and that were fitting to the film's era. *The Spirit of the Beehive* was made and released when Franco still held power. Del Toro's lunar, springtime fabulism, by contrast, is appropriate to another era, when the people of Spain know that dictators don't rule forever. There is comfort in his film; but there is also a determination to remember, to keep faith and to encourage.

The beauty of *Pan's Labyrinth* exists for its own sake. The magic has a purpose.

With the release of Clint Eastwood's *Letters From Iwo Jima* two months after his *Flags of Our Fathers*, one of the most remarkable projects in American film history is complete. It astonishes me to think that even a producer-director of Eastwood's influence could carry it off: making two complete films about the battle for Iwo Jima, one from the point of view of the American servicemen and the other from the Japanese viewpoint, with an all-Japanese cast speaking their own language. The ambition is impressive in itself, but what's laudable is how that ambition has been realized, with dignity, compassion and a filmmaker's equivalent of plain-spoken eloquence.

Flags of Our Fathers (reviewed December 4) re-creates the past by exploring a document of the war: the famous photo-

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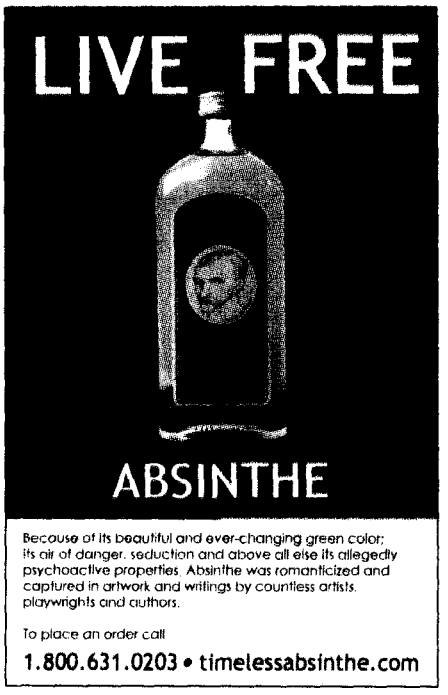
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graph of the American flag-raising. *Letters From Iwo Jima* adopts the same narrative strategy but uses as its documents the correspondence (both delivered and unsent) of Japanese soldiers on Iwo Jima. So the American film is about visual images and the manufacture of public meaning; the Japanese film, about words and personal convictions. Here is a paradox: Although the great majority of the characters in *Letters From Iwo Jima* believe they must offer their lives for their emperor, their manner of making that sacrifice turns out to be highly individual.

Two figures predominate in the large cast: the aristocratic commanding general, Tadamichi Kuribayashi (played by the godlike Ken Watanabe), and a sardonic, sly, hapless conscript named Saigo (Kazunari Ninomiya), who was a baker in civilian life and would just as soon turn the island over to the Americans. With an ease and grace more suited to the general than the foot soldier, Eastwood and his screenwriters (Iris Yamashita and Paul Haggis) slowly draw together the fates of these two. Saigo turns into a fighter, not through love of his country but from personal loyalty to the general. He clings to Kuribayashi because the general, though steeped in the code of the Japanese warrior, is himself idiosyncratic. He breaks with tradition, to the outrage of his subordinate officers, by conserving his troops' strength and falling back into underground bunkers rather than plunging into glorious battle. Worst of all, he forbids his men to commit suicide when they lose a position, ordering them instead to escape and go on fighting. Kuribayashi brushes away the charge that such behavior is a disgrace. He has lived in the United States, admires Americans and knows that the force coming his way is overwhelming. With surrender unthinkable, he and his men are already dead. The best they can do is to keep up whatever spirit they can muster.

Flags of Our Fathers and *Letters From Iwo Jima* together form an enormous diptych that has all the grandeur these stories demand. There are crowd scenes, chaotic battles (filmed in the contemporary style, with most of the color drained away), vistas of vast fleets of warships and airplanes. What emerges most powerfully, though, is an intimate sense of sorrow, and of decency. If there is any chance that popular American cinema will continue to be an art form—a very slight chance, I'd say, looking back over the past year's major studio releases—then I bet Eastwood's Iwo Jima films will stand as a monumental achievement, and an enduring one. ■

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LOS ANGELES, CA, BRENTWOOD AREA. *Nation* discussion group forming. E-mail: bernlandis@verizon.net.

JOIN THE ATLANTA *Nation* discussion group! Contact John McDonough, (770) 594-8097. jmcdono@bellsouth.net.

HARTFORD, CT, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meets monthly on the first Sunday at 2 PM. The Smith House, Trinity College, Hartford, CT 06106. For more info contact Suzi Smith, (860) 693-8549, suzismith@comcast.net.

ORGANIZATIONS

MEMPHIS, TN, *Nation* discussion group forming. E-mail heidikenaga@yahoo.com if you're interested in joining.

WOODLAND HILLS, CA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP. Contact Bailey, (818) 227-0076.

POLICY

HACKING? DIRTY TRICKS? DESTROYED COMPUTERS? MURDERS? Nothing will stop the truth. We're still here: AbolishTheCIA.org.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

RECEPTIONIST/BUSINESS ASSISTANT. *The Nation* magazine seeks a full-time receptionist/business assistant. Duties include answering phones and greeting guests, mail support, database maintenance (knowledge of Raiser's Edge a plus), order processing and fulfillment, customer service and general clerical support as needed. Excellent organizational and communication skills essential. Familiarity with database programs, Word and Excel preferred. Good salary and excellent benefits package. People of color and minorities are strongly encouraged to apply. Send résumé to job@thenation.com or mail to: Receptionist, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. Fax: (212) 982-9000. No phone calls.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. The Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives (ALBA) seeks a full-time, creative and experienced E.D. to lead the organization at an exciting transitional moment in its history. Candidates must demonstrate experience in fundraising, Board relations, PR, program development and financial management, and have excellent communication skills, both oral and written. As an independent, nonprofit organization devoted to educating people about our country's progressive traditions, ALBA oversees the largest US collection of historical sources relating to the Lincoln Brigade (housed at New York University's Tamiment Library), and produces a wide range of cultural and educational programs exploring the legacies of the men and women who participated in the Spanish Civil War. (See www.alba-valb.org.) Competitive salary and benefits; to begin in Spring 2007. ALBA is an equal opportunity, affirmative action employer. Candidates should send a cover letter and CV, including three references, via e-mail to execdirector@alba-valb.org. Deadline January 15, 2007.

SEEKING SENIOR EDITOR *The Nation*, the national political weekly, seeks a Senior Editor with deep experience, vision and excellent editing skills. Ideal candidate will have broad familiarity with politics and with the progressive community and media (including online). Applicant should work well under tight deadline pressure. Located in our downtown New York City offices, the position offers excellent benefits and a congenial work atmosphere. *The Nation* is an equal opportunity employer. People of color and other minorities strongly encouraged to apply. E-mail résumé, cover letter and salary requirements to: editjob@thenation.com. No calls please.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

***NATION* STUDENT OUTREACH:** Attention student activists! If you're involved in organizing a progressive event, lecture or film festival on your campus or in your community and would like to distribute copies of *The Nation*, please let us know by calling (212) 209-5416.

VOLUNTEER to teach Spanish, English, computer skills, citizenship preparation or to help in other ways. Small, friendly nonprofit in Manhattan needs volunteers to work with adult immigrants and language learners. Evening hours. Spanish not required for English teachers. Contact Centro de Educación de Trabajadores: (212) 765-4634; www.centronyc.org.

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EXPERIENCED PSYCHOANALYST also working with couples and families. Approach is psychodynamic but also eclectic. San Francisco and Marin. CA-PSY11249. Kristine Pfleiderer, DMH. (415) 563-8207.

SAN FRANCISCO PSYCHOTHERAPIST: treats depression, anxiety, relationship issues, crises and trauma. Consultation available. CC accepted. Paula Holt, LCSW, www.paulabranchholt.com. (415) 289-6990.

DOWNTOWN NEW YORK THERAPIST. Creativity and its discontents. Artists, activists, academics and all. Robert McVey, CSW. (212) 330-7114.

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LOS ANGELES/SOUTH BAY PROGRESSIVE REALTOR seeks progressive clients. Phil Lucero with TRG. (310) 722-5067. phil_lucero@msn.com.

MANHATTAN STATE OF MIND. Downtown specialist. Renters/Relocators. Dedicated, progressive broker. Bruce Fields, (917) 734-6979, bruce.fields@gmail.com.

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The Nation, Classified Department, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003

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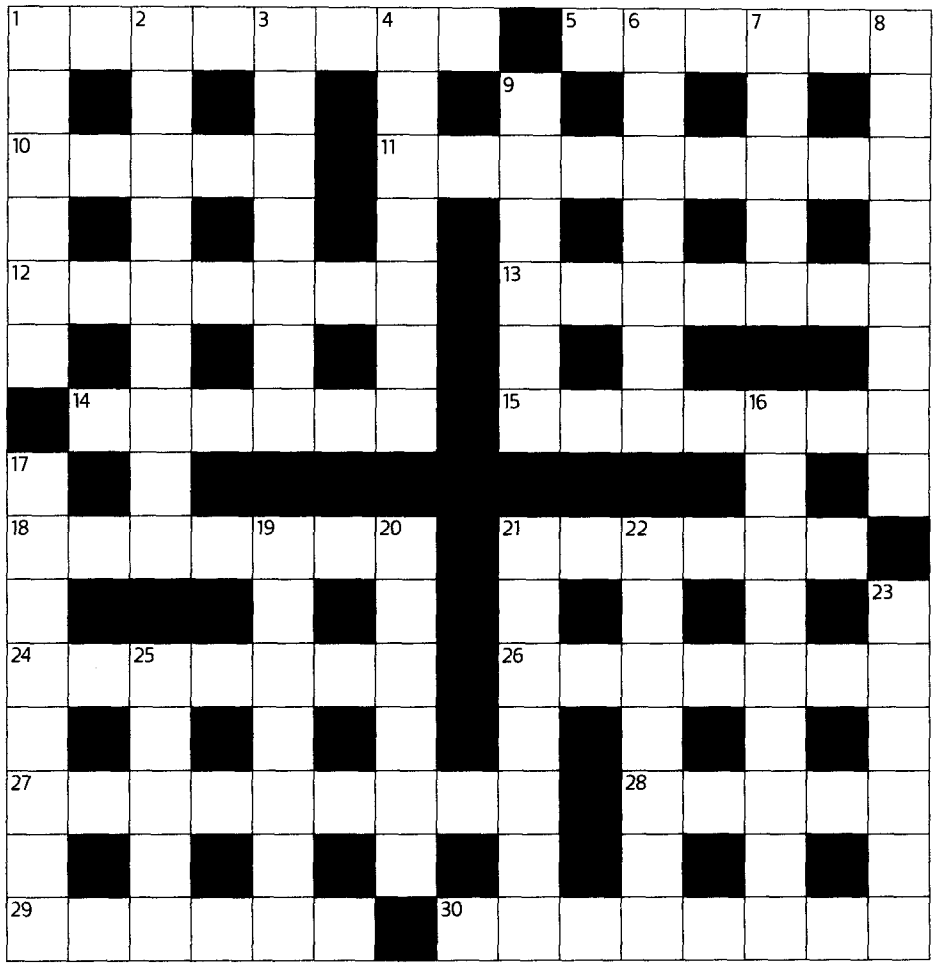
PUZZLE NO. 3065

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The woman who cleans the house is mother, as we say—which shows a certain amount of personal quality. (8)

10 and **5** That giddy blonde, as a cliché, after a couple of drinks? (5-6)

11 Her needle is parked where it stands out, which is sort of clear, to Pa. (9)

12 Flyer (a real card) to a point—and a real help to the painter. (7)

13 See 1 down

14 In time, was it supposed to save the baseball team? (6)

15 Something that breaks the trip when the old music poetry is finished. (3-4)

18 How the figures may be checked, but to the French a large number see the tide turned. (7)

21 A couple of points about love-trouble—they may not provide true stories. (6)

24 Starting place to guess, which is somewhat pointless, and might be biblical scourges. (7)

26 The sea to a Frenchman has a dim sort, but looks good and little to one in Copenhagen. (7)

27 Supposedly half-done, but water is promised if this. (4-5)

28 One hears they are what we walk through in the stores, but they may be associated with castaways. (5)

29 Possibly desire to live this way? (6)

30 Perhaps a plane you get to sit back on, and throw things overboard. (8)

DOWN

1 and **13** across One of those annoying things that seem to be choking some men, to arrest however heavy weight is attached. (6,7)

2 Given something extra for a short month, with people like Kennedy, perhaps. (9)

3 A psalm or anthem going into it, right in the middle. (7)

4 A sort of match to exist in it involves a man who thought about tomorrow, in play. (7)

6 What is the point to my getting around the trail with such fellow-feeling? (7)

7 A Morse symbol has to imply the same, with this. (5)

8 Late? Certainly! (In fact, absolutely positive!) (4,4)

9 The lady's ballet, let out to describe some remedies. (6)

16 Things of worth start with Victory, but possibly get, alas, blue. (9)

17 This is probably matched by woman's might, but it's not used to measure as much as the horsy type. (8)

19 How one got a ride, though a book may be well this. (7)

20 Isn't really a way to take your name off the list, once it was signed, perhaps on purpose. (6)

21 One gets disturbed about the pit, possibly, but you will find one the running type. (7)

22 May be handed down in old green fashion, when the literary hero comes up in it. (7)

23 Noised about as being a very productive person. (6)

25 Where Bizet's woman came from. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3064

R	I	V	E	R	S	I	D	E		D	R	I	V	E
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SWISS BREAK THROUGH GUARANTEES ...

YOU'LL NEVER SUFFER FROM FOOT PAIN AGAIN!

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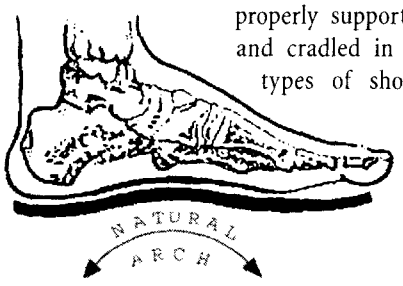
Which of these foot ailments cause you pain?

- ☐ Corns
- ☐ Calluses
- ☐ Flat Feet
- ☐ Burning Nerve Endings
- ☐ Cramping
- ☐ Painful Ankles
- ☐ Hammertoes
- ☐ Pain in the Balls of Your Feet

If you suffer from one or more of these problems, then you owe it to yourself to try the remarkable "FOOT CRADLES". Foot Cradles are an amazing discovery from Switzerland. They are guaranteed to end foot pain instantly, or your money back. Does it sound too good to be true? *Please read on.*

A Foot Specialist in Switzerland knew that, to end foot pain, the foot needed to be properly supported and cradled in all types of shoes.

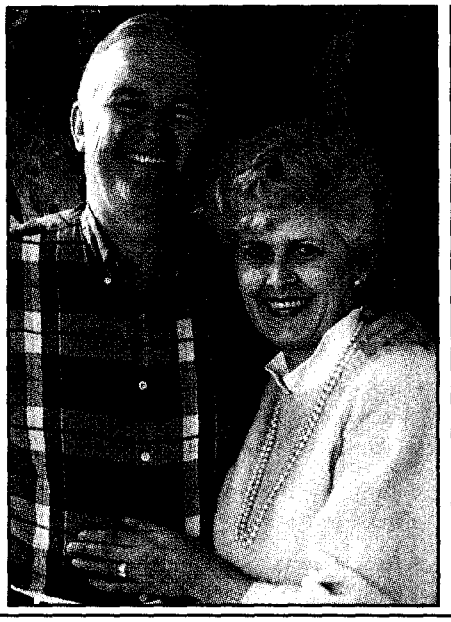


Since nothing he tried before ever gave long-lasting relief from pain, he set out to solve the problem himself.

His efforts produced the remarkably effective "FOOT CRADLE™" insole support.

Already, millions of men and women have found blessed relief from their foot pain with "FOOT CRADLES".

"I can hardly believe something so simple could work so well. Now, I believe in 'FOOT CRADLES'! Thank you for ending my foot pain."
B.J. Boise, ID



"I use 'FOOT CRADLES' in all my shoes. They're that good ... and comfortable. I get instant relief just like you promised." J.M. St. Louis, MO

So, simple, it's ingenious! The secret of "FOOT CRADLES" lies in its unique, contoured design. It works together with your foot in any pair of shoes you wear. "FOOT CRADLES" are made in Europe from genuine leather. Though they weigh less than an ounce, "FOOT CRADLES" help support your full body weight. Just as your weight shifts naturally as you walk, so do the "FOOT CRADLES". They apply the natural laws of foot motion to relieve your burning, aching feet.

"FOOT CRADLES" slip easily into any pair of shoes you own – high heels, work shoes, boots, sport shoes, sneakers and sandals. They're so comfortable, you won't realize you're wearing them.

"I took you up on your Guaranteed RISK-FREE Offer, and 'FOOT CRADLES' have been relieving my foot pain ever since." E.C. Memphis, TN

And once you start walking or running, you'll feel the difference immediately. Suddenly you no longer wince with each step. Your foot pain completely disappears.

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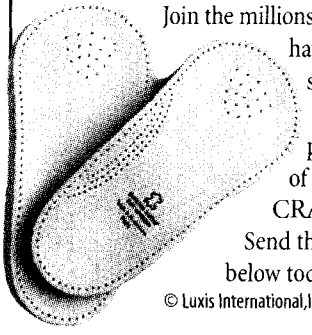

Join the millions of people who have already said goodbye to their foot pain because of "FOOT CRADLES". Send the coupon below today!

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☐ **SAVE $10.00 – 2 pair for only $29.90 plus FREE Postage & Handling.**

$_____ payment enclosed. Charge my: ☐VISA ☐MasterCard

Card #_____ Exp. Date_____

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- **Stephen Williams of *Newsday* says it "makes the music special" and "is simplicity itself – and simply terrific."**
- Setup is easy: Just plug it in.
- **No large speakers. No towering rack of electronics. No wires running around your room.**
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- The changer is designed exclusively for the Wave® music system. Together they stand just 6½ inches high.
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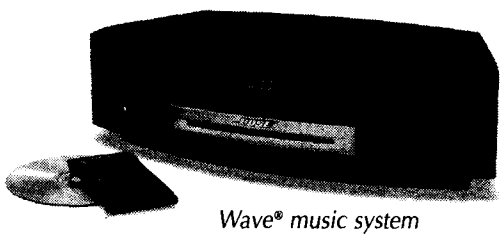

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- It reproduces even deeper notes than the renowned original Wave® radio/CD. Instruments are clearer and better defined.
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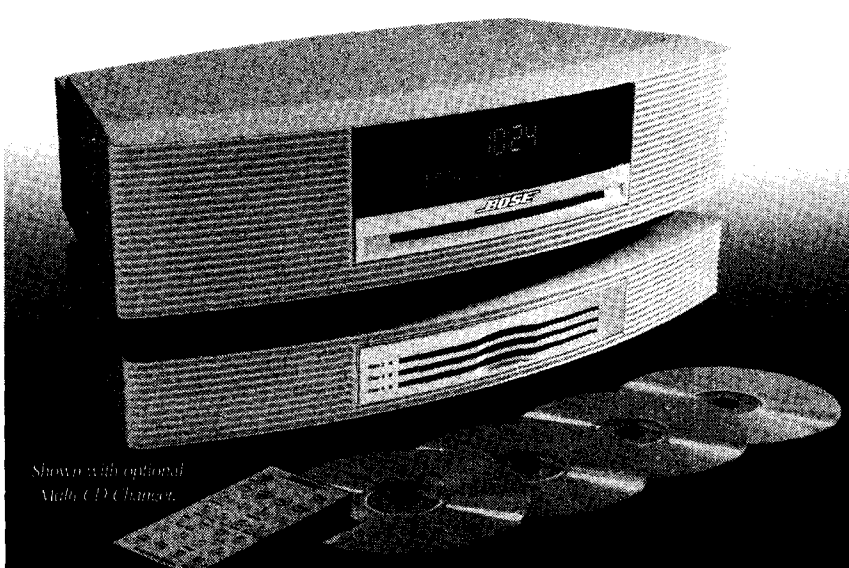

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